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WITH THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ETHNIC ORIGIN, PRIMITIVE ESTATE, EARLY MIGRATIONS, SOCIAL EVOLUTION, AND PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PROMISE OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF MEN

TOGETHER WITH A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE TIME, PLACE AND MANNER OF THE BEGINNING

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

AUTHOR OF "HISTORY OF THE WORLD" ETC.

PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS, TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES, AND DIAGRAMS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CLARK E. RIDPATH

1917

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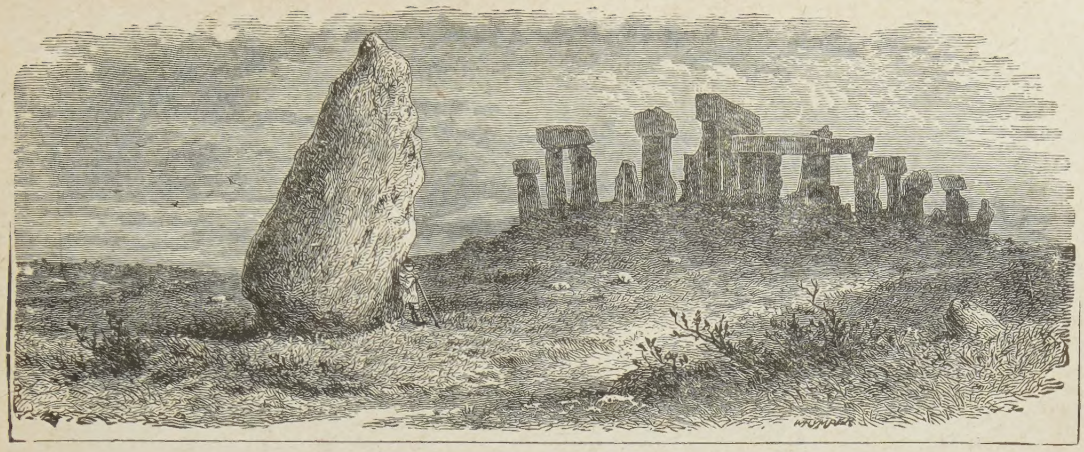


BOOK X.—THE CELTS.

CHAPTER LXXIII.—THE GAULS PROPER.

BEGINNING with the Ruddy races of mankind and with the Aryan division of those races, we have now considered the Eastern branches of that great family, and also the Græco-Italic branch in the West. We have followed the race in its distribution eastward, across the plateaus of Iran, through the gaps of the Hindu-Kush, into the valleys of India, as far to the east as the Malay peninsula, which may be regarded as the limits of the sunrise excursion of the Aryans; and we have followed the same family from the same original nidus westward by one of its divisions through Asia Minor, across the Ægean, pausing to note its marvelous historical developments in Greece and Italy, tracing the transformation of the Græco-Italic peoples, in the Middle Ages, into their recent developments, and bounding at last the Western excursion with the limits of Brazil. The spectacle of a race of men thus distributing itself, under its own laws, without compulsory historical processes, in obedience to natural instincts, and under no restraints except that of environment as far in one direction as the foot-hills of Burmah and in the other direction as far as the head-waters of the Rio Amazonas, is sufficiently striking and picturesque.

Summary of the subjects thus far considered.

But the Western excursion of the Aryans was by no means limited to the Græco-Italicans. The stream that bore them away contained much of the historical potency of the ancient world, but there was another world yet to come, that modern world which we have inherited from the past; and it was the destiny of things that the impulse which carried the Greeks and Romans to their tremendous pitch of power and grandeur in antiquity should sink into the earth before reaching the world which we inhabit. Meanwhile, however, there were in preparation in the north of Europe other races of men to whom was assigned in a large measure the destiny of building the great structure of modern times.

Græco-Italicans not destined to possess the New World.

CIRCUS OF AMATS.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, from a photograph by Trutat.

These northern races also, like their kinsmen in the eastern and central peninsulas of Southern Europe, were Aryans. Like them, they came into Europe from the East; like them, they were distributed to their respective localities by their own migrations and conflicts; like them, in course of time they fixed themselves in permanent residence in various European countries; and like them, they have now risen to grandeur, renown, and power. Whether the civilization which they have builded will outlast that of Greece and Italy, or whether in course of time it also will sink into the dust, leaving the Western world for other races to dominate, remains for the veiled future to reveal.

Celtic and Teutonic races next claim attention.

We come, then, in the present chapter to the consideration of the races of Northern and Western Europe. We have at this part of the inquiry less light from the historic page than was furnished from the records of the Græco-Italic races. The late literary development of the peoples of Northern Europe, of the Celts, of the Teutonic families, has left their primitive history in great obscurity. But ingenious inquiry, patient archæological research, the faithful comparison of data, have enabled the modern scholar to extract even from the barbarism of Northern Europe at least the rudiments of a rational ethnography.

Let us, then, in the next place, beginning with the Celtic peoples, take our stand at the point of their departure from the northwestern stream of Aryanism and trace out to their ultimate forms and manifestations the various branches of the race. The reader will not have forgotten that in prehistoric times the westbound Aryans parted in Armenia, eastward from the Black sea, in the country between that stormy water and the still more stormy Caspian, and that they proceeded thenceforth by a direct western and a northwestern departure into Europe.

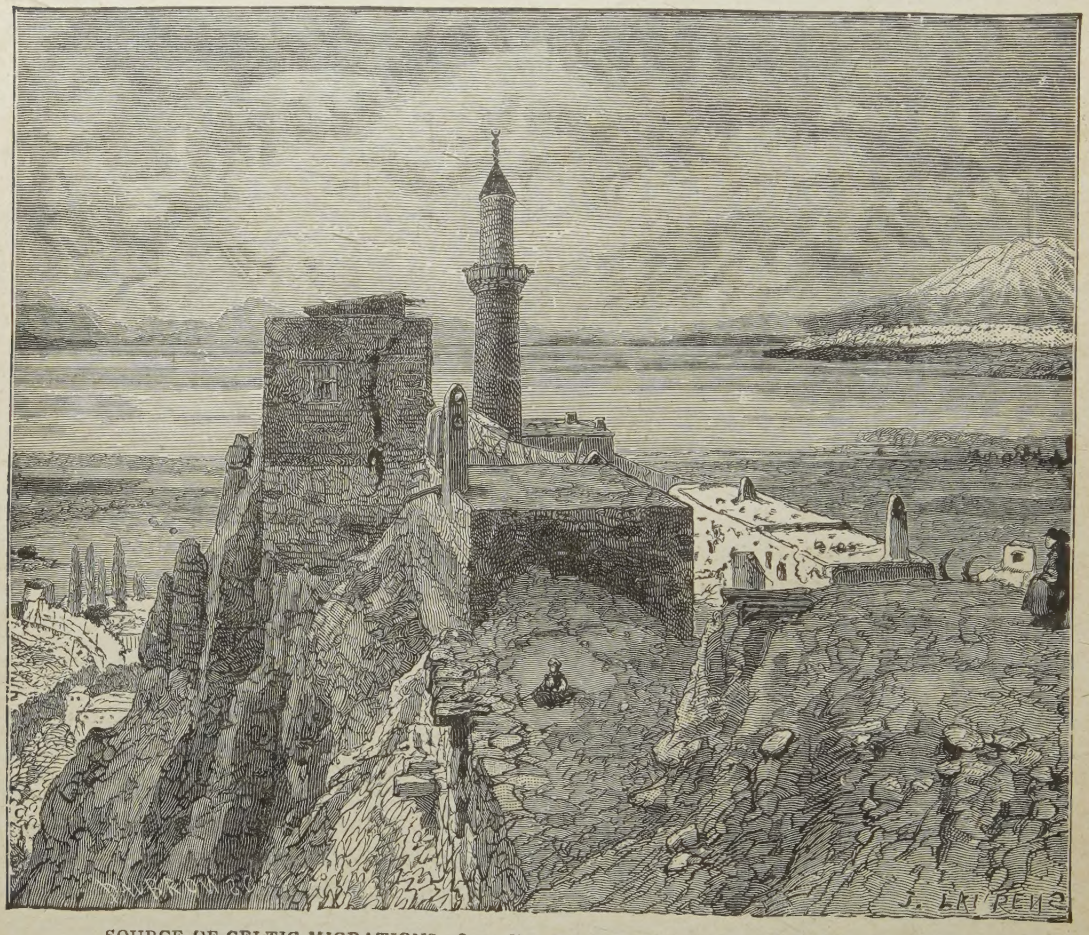
Determining the point of the Celtic race departure.

It is the northwestern course which we are now to pursue. In this line we find the potency of all the races of Europe, with the exception of the Greeks and Romans, and with the still more remote exception of the Pelasgi, the Etruscans, the Iberians, and the Basques. These latter races were amalgamated with the Græco-Italic family, constituting what may in general be called the South Europeans, as contradistinguished from the North Europeans. The latter flowed in a northwesterly direction, maintaining a tolerable solidarity until they reached a latitude above that of the upper extremities of the Black sea. Here they again parted and spread. Hitherto the common migratory stream had contained the potency of the Celtic, the Slavonic, the Teutonic, and the Lettic families of men.

Of course, we must not suppose that the movement to the northwest and into Europe of these various primitive families was coincident for the different tribes. It is because they were *not* coincident that we are able to take them up in something resembling a historical sequence and consider them one by one. It is safe to assume that the vanguard in this case was the Celts. Just as the rough Romans and the Æolic Greeks, or rather the tribes out of which these peoples were destined to spring, were in the van of the Græco-Italic races, so the Celts may be said to have led the way into Western Europe by the northern route. It is here insisted that the reader must be famil-

Race movements into Europe not coincident.

iar with the map of the eastern hemisphere; and if he will understand the true nature of the ethnic movements which we are here delineating, he must keep before his mind the position of the Black sea in the bifurcation of the Aryan race in its progress to the West.



SOURCE OF CELTIC MIGRATIONS.—Lake Van and Fortress.—Drawn by J. Laurens, from nature.

Course of Celtic migration and distribution in Europe.

Ethnographers are tolerably well agreed in regard to the general course and progress of the Celtic race through Europe. It was, perhaps, in what we would call Central Russia, about the headwaters of the Don, in the country between the Volga and the Dnieper, that the Celtic race first began its departure and excursion from the common migratory course of the other North European tribes. As we have said in another part, the direction of the migration of the race was thence almost due west through a large part of Europe. Whether the Celtic nations were pressed from behind by other migrating tribes, or whether they were carried still further and further by forces of instinct which they could not themselves understand, the results of which they could not themselves anticipate, we may leave to conjecture. Nor is it certainly known to what extent the countries through which these Celtic nations made their way were at that time inhabited by other races which may have resisted or accelerated their progress.

At any rate, they pressed their way westward until they crossed the river Rhine. There, with the wide realm of Teutonic barbarism behind them—at least the realm where such barbarism was to display its powers—they took possession of Gaul, and fixed themselves, in course of time, with some degree of firmness to the soil.

Minor. Their discernment in this particular was verified by subsequent investigations, and ethnographers of the present time are agreed that the Galatians were an Eastern branch of the Western Celtic family. As to the general distribution of the race in Gaul we have the authority of Cæsar. His threefold division of the people according to

IN CÆSAR'S PROVINCE, FOOT OF THE ALPS.—Drawn by C. Saglio, from a photograph by De Braun.

The country which they thus occupied extended from the river Rhine to the Pyrenees. In the earliest European vocabulary it is called Celtice (Greek, κελτικὴ), and its inhabitants were *Keltoi*, or *Celtæ*. The Greeks at a very early period recognized the identity between the race which spread over Gaul and the people who gave their name to Galatia in Asia

Boundaries of the Celtic family; the Aquitanians.

nationality is recognized and accepted wherever the Latin literature has left even a trace of its influence. It is now, however, better known than in the days of Cæsar that one division of the Gauls, namely, the Aquitanian, had an ethnic basis derived from the south. The Aquitani, whose country extended from the Pyrenees to the river Garonne, are now regarded as descendants of the

ancient Iberians and Basques, who occupied both slopes of the mountain range dividing Gaul from the Spanish peninsula. But these Aquitanians had been Celticized before Cæsar's day, and though differing much from the Belgic and Gallic Celts, they should nevertheless be regarded as belonging to the same general family.

Geographical position of the Galli and Belgæ.

These Celts whom Cæsar calls Galli, or Gauls, had in his day the whole territory extending from the river Garonne to the ancient Sequana, the modern Seine, and its chief tributary, the Marne. This last named river, together with the Seine and the Rhine, constituted the territorial limits of the Belgæ, or third division of the Celtic race, in Gaul. Just as the Aquitanian branch of the people had been ethnically modified by their interfusion with the Iberians and Basques, so on the Germanic side the Belgæ had been considerably assimilated to the Teutonic type. The man of antiquity in judging of tribal and national differences generally used language as the criterion. In doing so the ear was the critical organ. A tribe speaking a dialect that sounded different from the dialect of some other tribe was quickly, and many times fallaciously, judged to be of different descent. In an age when philology had no existence, men of the most acute minds were unable to discover those analogies of sound and structure by which in modern times the affinities of language are so easily determined. It was for this reason that Cæsar in his military excursions through Gaul, coming in contact with the Gauls proper, the Belgians, and the Aquitanians, in turn, did not hesitate to say that these races "differed much among themselves in languages, institutions, and laws."

There was still another diverse aspect of ancient Gaulish life such as it was at the beginning of our era. That country called by the Romans Provincia, extending from the foot of the maritime Alps around the Mediterranean to the mouth of the Rhone, had a population of its own, and to this province the Greek writers gave the name of Liguria. The fact that as early as 600 B. C. the colony of Massilia, the modern Marseilles, had been planted by the Greeks, furnished ground for that race to claim an ethnic interest in the people of the southern coast of Gaul. There was intercourse between Hellas and this country. Cæsar himself tacitly admits the different ethnic character of the people of Provincia. But since these people, the Ligurians—or whoever they were—were well known to the Romans, and were virtually one with the people bearing their name in the peninsula, the Roman general offers no comments upon their character. But in what manner soever some original settlements in this maritime part of Southern Gaul may have been made, the Gauls here also prevailed over the original colonists and gradually absorbed and transformed them into their own likeness. In fact, that broad country which the Roman historian distinguishes as *Omnis Gallia*, or All Gaul, was before the beginning of our era inhabited through its whole extent by peoples of the Celtic race, modified around the borders east, south, and southwest by the frontier tribes that lay in those directions.

Who the Ligurians were; Cæsar's Omnis Gallia.

Evolution of the Spanish Celtiberians.

The primitive Celts were not by any means limited to Gaul in their excursions westward. They beat down against the Pyrenees. They found the passes. They made their way through

into the Spanish peninsula. It is not agreed whether the Iberians from beyond the Mediterranean were there before them. Niebuhr has contended that the Celtic occupation of Central Spain was anterior to the coming of the Iberians; but the general belief has been that the latter people were found there when the Celts first invaded the country. Both peoples remained. They may have fought. There is tradition to that effect. But they finally settled and became amalgamated into that race which has preserved both of the ethnic names, namely, the Celtiberians.

Diffusion into Britain; the Greeks find Celtice.

In the extreme west of Gaul the tribes came to the sea. They made their way across the Channel into Britain. They occupied the British Isles, and contributed thereto the first historical population. The events to which we here refer lie far back in antiquity. Rome had not yet been founded when the Celtic race diffused itself over the greater part of Western Europe. When the Greek adventurers, about 600 B. C., came to the southern coast of Gaul, they found it occupied by the Celtic race. Such was the dispersion of the people whose race evolution we are now to consider. We may well glance briefly at some of the vicissitudes through which they passed.

The Celtic ascendency in Western Europe.

Gaul became thickly populated, as that phrase would be applied to a barbarian region. The race grew powerful. It ascended the slopes of the Alps on the north and bore down toward the German ocean. There were Celtic tribes on both sides of the Upper Rhine. Gaulish emigrations took place, whole nations moving in this direction or in that. We have already seen how Italy was troubled by them before the Roman ascendency. We have also seen how a Gaulish people made their way to the East, pressed upon the Greek race in its course, crossed the Ægean, and founded a great state in Asia Minor. In Northern Italy, Gallia Cisalpina was established, as if to indicate the preponderance of the Celtic race in that region. In after times, when this province was Romanized, it received the name of Gallia Togata, or Gaul of the Toga, to distinguish it from Gallia Braccata, or Gaul of the Trousers, which lay beyond the mountains.

General conditions in the empire of the Celts

At the time of which we speak—a long period, to be roughly defined as extending from the fifth century B. C. to the Christian era —Western Europe was a sort of Celtic empire. In the use of such an expression we must be on our guard against the transference of modern ideas to ancient conditions. It is not meant that any great government such as the epithet imperial would imply in modern times existed in the broad countries west of the Rhine and north of the Alps. But a common condition was present throughout this extended region; a common people, or at least a common race, held the territories and peopled them, establishing what may be called a common order of life and intercourse.

Power and development of the race; contact with Rome.

Nor was this order characterized by weakness, or even instability. True, the Celtic society of this period lay low and level along the earth; but it was vast, fecund, strong. The Celtic race at this time dominated a portion of the European continent almost as great as was afterwards held by the Western empire of the Romans. The Celts made war and concluded peace, inspiring respect and even dread among their more civilized contemporaries, the Græco-Italics

on the south. Both Greece and Rome had relations of war and peace with these people. Long before Cæsar's day Gaul had suffered foreign invasions. Her northern and eastern frontiers had been broken in by the Germans. The Greeks had founded on the southern coast a city that was for a long time the rival of Carthage, and might have been at length the menace of Rome. In 122 B. C., Caius Sextius founded in Provincia a town to which in honor of himself he gave the name of Aquæ Sextiæ, the Sextian Waters, afterwards called Aix, famous through all the Middle Ages as the capital of Provence.

At this place the Roman occupation of Gaul had its center. Only four years later Narbonne was founded, which was the first municipium within the limits of Gaul. The story of the Cæsarian invasions is known in all the world. But it is perhaps not known that the peculiar tribal, or clannish, organization of Celtic society was the one great circumstance of which the invincible general availed himself in carrying forward his works of subjugation. After his death Gaul was for a brief season neglected by the conquerors. But the work had been so effectually accomplished that no great disturbances occurred, and Augustus found an inviting field in which to carry forward his famous project of Romanizing all the great peoples beyond the Alps.

Gaul becomes Romanized; reorganization by Augustus.

Then it was that the first emperor took in hand the problem of remodeling the Gaul which his great uncle had taken with the sword. On the basis of the threefold division of the race, which the addition of Provincia made into a fourfold division, Augustus created four Gallic provinces, to the first of which, the old Provincia, he gave the name Gallia Narbonensis, using the name of the capital city Narbo for the whole state. Aquitania was reorganized with an extension of territory to the Liger. To Gaul Proper —Cæsar's Gaul—was given the name of Gallia Lugdunensis, the name of the capital Lugdunum being, as in the case of Narbonensis, given to the whole region. Lugdunum became Lyons, which might thenceforth be regarded as the capital of all the Gallic states. The northern territory was called Gallia Belgica, after the Belgæ, the half-German Gaulish race by which it was inhabited. On this half-barbarian and half-civilized tetrarchy the Roman power was established a short time before the beginning of our era; and the organization was but little changed during the four centuries that ensued.

The student of history need not be reminded of the very important part which these Gallic states played in the imperial history from the times of Augustus the Great to Romulus the Little. He will readily recall the constant pressure, not to say interference, of Gallic affairs with those of the empire. He will not forget that in the contests which were waged for the imperial crown Gaul was frequently a competitor. Nor may the circumstance be overlooked that in one of these struggles Claudius Civillis, a Gaul by birth and education, made a heroic effort to recover the ancient liberty and independence of the Celtic race.

Importance of the Gallic states under the empire.

Taking our station, then, on the Frankward slope of the maritime Alps and looking out far to the north and west, we shall find before us outspread that great Celtic people who, by admixture of blood at least, have effected the ethnic constitution of all Western Europe. What was the condition of this

Barbarian estate of the Celtic races.

people in the time of the Roman republic? its social state? its potency and promise? In the first place, we may prevalent manners and customs, the rudimentary learning by which the tribes are governed, the means of inter-

LANDING OF CÆSAR IN BRITAIN.

note the applicability of the term *barbarian* to all that we see before us. The industries and enterprises of the race, the course, the method of obtaining and dispensing food, and indeed every element of life lies on the level of barbarism.

But what is barbarism? This term, following the vocabulary of the age, we have frequently employed as descriptive of the condition of various races. We are now face to face with the fact on a large scale. Through many preceding chapters we have been journeying with the Græco-Italicans, by whom the epithet barbarian was invented and first applied to the peoples of the north. But what is the difference between the barbarous and the civilized state? Where shall the line be drawn by which the one is discriminated from the other? How low must man descend in order to be defined as barbarian? and how high must he rise in order to be defined as civilized?

Essential nature of barbarism; the stage of unconsciousness.

BRITISH CELTS WATCHING THE APPROACH OF ROMAN SHIPS.

In answering these questions we must look at the mental state of man rather than at his physical condition. The physical condition is, indeed, but an imperfect criterion of civilization. Under certain circumstances the bodily comfort of a civilized race might be much less than the actual comfort of a people in barbarism; but the mental state, the intellectual horizon, will furnish the proper criteria. Perhaps the first element in discriminating the barbarian from the civilized condition is the unconsciousness of the former and the consciousness —we might say the self-consciousness— of the latter. The barbarians are under the dominion intellectually of instincts rather than of conscious reason.

An analogy may be found in the life of childhood. At the first the child is absolutely unconscious; that is, it is not conscious *of itself*. In its first mental state it has drawn—can draw —no line of difference between itself and the rest of nature. It recognizes no distinction between itself and the other members of the household or the world outside. But there comes a time when, with the evolution of its powers, the child *discovers itself*. It is the greatest discovery in the history of the human mind. From that time forth the living agent is distinctly self-conscious, not perfectly so at first, but becoming more and more so with the expansion of the faculties. Races move in precisely an analogous manner. So long as they are under the dominion of the unconscious forces of instinct rather than conscious reason their activities and the whole expression of their life may be called barbarian; but as they emerge into the conscious state they become civilized. It can not be too strongly insisted that such emergence is not sudden, but gradual. It is a *becoming;* and the time of it can never be defined in days or years of the calendar.

Analogy of child-life and the life of the tribe.

This process is marked by several circumstances which are the unmistakable signs of the passing away of the old and the incoming of the new condition.

The first of these, and most prominent of all, is the putting of speech into literary form, and the use of the newly discovered vehicle to record and preserve passing events. It is the substitution of history for tradition. The moment that the race becomes concerned to know its past it enters the dawn of civilization. This disposition to learn what has gone before, and to put such knowledge into permanent form, is a symptom which distinguishes the self-conscious peoples from those who are still under the dominion of barbarian instincts. The effort to record the past appears at first in poetical guise. The rhapsodist, the epic poet, the wandering bard, compose out of tradition—with much help from their own imaginations—the first story of the race. It is under the recital of primitive history that the general consciousness of a barbarian people is first aroused into action, to sleep no more.

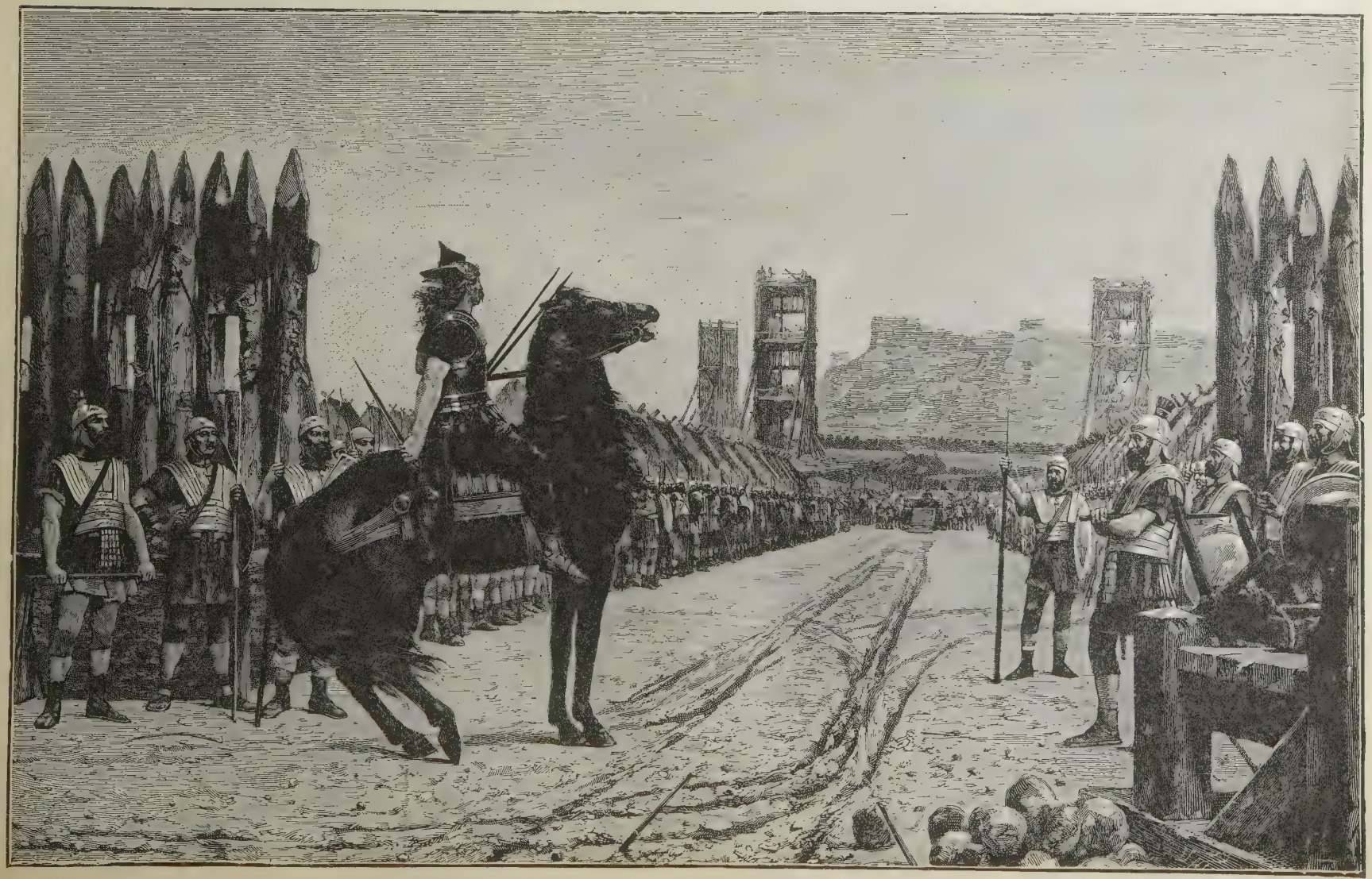
Literary records mark the beginnings of civilization.

The self-consciousness of a people seeking thus at first to record the story of its own past, to delineate its concept of itself, soon passes into a legal phase. The mind begins to examine the usages and customs which have prevailed among the people in the unconscious state. It is as though the beaver should suddenly become a critic of his own dam-building, and should write in a book the *method* by which such important work may be best accomplished. It is as though the chamois should formulate the rules by which places of safety may be found and defended against the barbarism of the carnivora. It is as though the hunters of the chamois should formulate a code by which the wary and active animals which they pursue may best be taken and yet the race preserved for the hereafter. It is self-consciousness.

Law, also, a concomitant of the civilized life.

ROMAN LEGIONARIES CROSSING OVER A BRIDGE.

The appearance of written language—used to record a people's knowledge of the past and the transformation of instinctive customs and usages into set-



THE CELTS AT THEIR BEST ESTATE.—VERCINGETORIX BEFORE CÆSAR.—After Speman.

tled forms of law—has mostly discriminated barbarism from civilization. So long as a race remains under the dominion of merely human instincts, so long as it remains in preliterary, which is to say prehistoric, darkness, so long as it subsists by the employment of such empirical customs as have their foundation in savage experience rather than right reason, they may be defined as barbarous; but when they emerge from these conditions, become self-conscious, employ language to record the past, and begin by reason to improve on the blind customs and forms which they have hitherto employed, they may be said to enter at least the morning of the civilized state.

General conditions of race-life at the time of emergence.

At the time of which we speak the Gauls were still barbarian by the criteria here suggested. They were under the dominion of the native forces which had carried them or their ancestors out of Asia into the West. Their social usages were merely instinctive. It is not meant that there was no greatness in the Gallic race, not meant that distinguished chieftains were wanting, that heroes and heroism had no name in the country between the Rhine and the Pyrenees. The Celtic languages at the time of which we speak had perhaps been sufficiently developed to have borne the rudiments of literature; and it is not impossible that rude bards may have recited their concepts of the past in the ages preceding the Christian era; but no literature existed. There was, therefore, no common spirit, no common interest among the Gaulish nations.

Barbarism of the tramontane Gauls at the Christian era.

The case was similar to that which we have seen among the Red men of North America. The enterprise of one tribe was not the enterprise of another. In order to awaken the interest of several nations the chieftains must journey from one to the other and harangue the councils. Intercourse was personal rather than civil, and the means employed were tribal rather than national. We have already noted the fact that in Cæsar's time there was never a concerted action of the whole Gallic race in the defense of its interests against the aggressions of the Romans.

Lack of a general interest among the Gallic races

The general condition of the Gaulish peoples even at the time of their ascendency in the countries north of the Alps and the Pyrenees was one of universal segregation. It were almost vain to conjecture into how many tribes the Gauls proper were divided; and the same may be said of the Belgæ and the Aquitanians. It was a condition of chieftaincy. Every clan had its chiefs. The word *clan* suggests the actual civil condition of the people better than the word *tribe*. There were leading men who commanded their followers in war and had an ascendency over them in peace. About these were gathered a caste of priests and a group of prominent warriors with their families; and around these or beneath them the mass of the clan, in a very degraded condition.

Universal segregation and clan-life of the Gauls

The chieftains were supported by the tribe. The common condition was little above the level of slavery. The general estate was one of exceeding hardship. At this time only a small part of the country had been cleared of its forests. The Gauls had pursuits of hunting and foray similar to that of the Germans beyond the Rhine. They were not earnestly devoted to any agricultural or industrial pursuit. Rude manufactures were known and practiced in the towns.

Stage of Gaulish agriculture and manufactures.

To these seats of industries the warriors repaired for the purchase of their armor. But for the most part each tribe and each family produced its own commodities. In this respect again the manner of life was not greatly different from that of the better class of North American aborigines. Doubtless the Iroquois nations of Northern New York, such as they were a century and a half ago, approximated the condition of the common Gauls in the days of Cæsar.

At this time, and indeed for many centuries previously, the common cereals, to which we will give the general name of *corn*, were produced in the open fields. In those tribes where the settled estate had been tolerably established, the cultivation was regular and the yield sufficient for ordinary wants. There were the beginnings of rude commerce in provisions between the tribes. Within the territories of every tribe were a capital town and many villages. The character and population depended on the extent and fertility of the surrounding territory. The Gaulish towns were never conspicuous for elegance, variety, or wealth. They were to be regarded rather as centers of population and of defense in times of war. The simple villages were open and exposed, as a rule, to the incursions of the enemy, but the capital town was generally defensible—fortified to a certain extent by both nature and art. The situation was either the summit of a hill, easily defended against attack, or what was more common, the depth of some great wood or dark morass, through which the approaching enemy must make his way before he could assail the stronghold

Products of Gallia; commerce and the village life.

RUINS OF CELTIC HUTS AT CHYSOISTER.
After Borlase.

The inclosure was an earthwork. Perhaps there was a close analogy between the vallum with which the Celts were wont to surround their towns and the similar constructions of the mound builders in America. As to the houses or huts of the people—the villagers and mere tribesmen resident at a distance from the towns—they were of a circular form, and the structure was called wattle work. This variety of housebuilding may be said to have been peculiar to the Celtic race; and as a style of abode, the wattle hut has survived to the present day in some parts of Ireland. The wattle was the interweaving of the branches of trees. The native forest furnished an abundant supply of material which the wild Celts lopped away and worked into the circular walls of their huts. The walls were chinked and daubed with clay. In each hut a single family resided. The family was on the monogamic basis—another evidence of the ultimate kinship of the Celts with the Roman race of which they presently became the subjects.

Character of the capital towns and defenses.

One usage, at least, the Celts had in their civil procedure which was common to them and the more advanced races of the south—a usage, indeed, which has survived to the present time, and is the law of action among most of the more progressive modern nations. This was the principle and practice of *election*. The chief of each clan was elected, also

Usage of election; the Gaulish aristocracy.

the subordinate chieftains. The Druid priests, whose importance in the affairs of state we shall presently notice, were chosen in like manner. That peculiarly important element of Gaulish society, the squad of horsemen belonging to each clan, was also constituted by election. These three classes, the Chiefs, the Druids, and the Horsemen, were the officers, the public men of the clan, and were supported by the labor and contributions of the serf, or peasant, class. We may easily with the historical vision discern in these conditions the rudiments of that society which in course of time was to bring forth the clansmen of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands.

Difficulty of race rally; want of organization.

The essential vice in the clan system of the Celts was its want of unity and cohesion. In times of danger the horsemen and warriors of several tribes might be rallied to battle with the foe; but it required peculiar emergencies to evoke even thus much of common action. The general effect of the presence of danger was the recession of each clan into its own fastness. It contracted itself out of sound of danger, and its local unity became, for the time being, intense in the highest degree. But as the local unity was thus attained in each tribe, the general unity was completely destroyed. Even in times of war, when the fighting men had congregated into a general army, the body of the clansmen, the peasants, sought the depth of the forest or the hilltops where they had their fortifications. Into these they threw themselves, and sought each to maintain its local existence until the storm should pass. One of the great generic differences between the Celtic and the Roman race was the political organizing capacity of the latter displayed from the very first—an instinct that led to combination and structure in society—and the clannish, segregating instinct in the former, predominant over every other impulse and consideration of the ethnic life.

Nobility and commonalty of the Gauls.

One of the bottom facts of Gaulish society was the recognition of a nobility and a people. What is said above about the election of chieftains, Druids, and horsemen, or knights, would indicate upon what line the nobility were discriminated from the mass of the Celtic population. That sentiment which recognizes superiority was very strong. We have had occasion to note the exactly opposite sentiment and practice of the Greeks, and, indeed, of the Romans. In these nations the democratic, or at least the republican or aristocratic, feeling was peculiarly strong. Among the Hellenes, from the heroic ages, when warrior Achilles obeyed Agamemnon, king of men, only to a certain extent and under certain restrictions, to the present time, when the modern Greek or the Albanian brigand accepts the restraint of authority as a temporary evil to be abrogated as soon as opportunity shall offer, the Greek race has had the passion of equality as one of the principal motives of its course and conduct. But among the Celts there has always been a preference for classification. The Gaulish chieftains regarded themselves as a superior order, and the common people of the tribes cheerfully accepted and recognized the nobility of their chiefs, their priests, and military leaders.

CHAPTER LXXIV.—THE DRUIDICAL CULT.

THERE can be no general understanding of the character of the usages and manner of life of the Celtic people without a knowledge of the druidical religion, its theory, its priesthood, and its ceremonial. Perhaps it was the most conspicuous and constant fact in the visible life of the race. Probably Druidism never made its way into Spain. It is possible that some facts in the physical world, in the forest, in the seasons, and other natural phenomena may have stayed the progress of the system with the passes of the Pyrenees.[1]

Prevalence of the druidical cult; origin of the system.

HAUNT OF THE DRUIDS—OWEN GLENDOWER'S OAK, NEAR SHREWSBURY.

But in all the other widely extended territories of Gallia and to the remotest borders of the British Isles, indeed wherever the Western Celts distributed themselves, the druidical religion was prevalent as a form of philosophy and worship.

As to the ultimate origin of Druidism we are left somewhat to conjecture. It has been generally agreed that the word Druid is from the Greek δρυς (pronounced *droos*,, meaning an oak. The Druids mean the Oak Men, the Priests of the Oak. Some modern scholars have doubted the correctness of this derivation, but none better has been offered. We may therefore conclude that there was an original element in this system which allied it with the oak forest—that the mythology in its ultimate analysis related to the voices and spirits of the oak tree. We have already seen at least one ancient race whose religious cult was of this sort. The old Jovian Greeks of Dodona heard in the great scraggy oaks of that region the voice of Zeus. It was not wholly an irrational or unaccountable superstition. He who in the great woods, whether oak or other, with the tremendous canopy overhead, has listened to the far voices of the solitude has come as near to an actual communion with the powers of the world as he will ever come, unless it should be when he falls into solitary communion with the sea.

If we look profoundly into the origin and nature of Druidism, more particu-

[1] In Spain the oak tree is found only in the northern maritime provinces.

larly at its association with the oak tree and the mistletoe, we shall find several circumstances which may tend to account for so peculiar a form of worship. Doubtless the system had respect in the first place to Zeus and his adoration. This supreme deity may easily have been associated in the minds of the ancients with the oak. Zeus was the god of the upper air, the mountainland, the cloudland, the sky. The oak was peculiarly the monarch of the air. His head was in the clouds. His home was among the hills and mountains. At the time of the incoming of the Aryan races into Europe the oak was the prevalent forest tree. Those woods which afterwards became beech woods, and had in a former age been fir woods, were at that time oak woods. The order of succession—fir, oak, beech—is well known as a botanical fact, and archæologically it is known that the oak was the prevailing forest tree at the epoch of the Aryan immigration.

Reasons for association of Druidism with the oak.

It was therefore under the branches of the oak that the first Aryans had their abode. There they built their huts, and their first associations of affectionate regard with the external world were with this tree. Its fruit, moreover, came in its season. We have had occasion in a former book to remark upon the large part which the acorn played in the food-supply of the original Europeans. It is quite likely that *phēgos* (φηγὸς), the Greek name of the oak, which is the original of the Latin *quercus*, designating the same tree, was derived from phagein (φαγεῖν) "to eat," and that the name was given because of the acorn, which was called preëminently *the food*. The attachment and affectionate regard of the early tribes for the oak tree and its product would therefore be similar to that feeling which the boys and young-folk in every frontier land have for the mast-bearing trees of the forest.

Close attachments of first Aryans with the oak woods.

Again, the eagle was the bird of Jove. His broad circuit in the open heaven, his tremendous flight, his power and violence of conquest over the smaller creatures of the feathered race, made him peculiarly the symbol and favorite creature of Zeus. The eagle made his nest in the oak. There he reared his young. There his scream was heard, and there the boughs were shaken by his mighty wings as he came in with prey or went forth to conquest. Finally, as we have said, the oak tree was full of voices. The wind moaned among the scraggy branches. The canopy had strange whispers, even when the woods were still. The wild people who abode under the protecting arms of this monarch of the natural world must needs feel an awe and reverence in his majestic presence.

Why the oak tree was the throne of Jove.

The manner, moreover, in which the mistletoe was associated with the giant tree was likely to attract the strange interest of primeval man. Here was a growing plant, an evergreen parasite, which must cling to some other object for support. It had the power to ascend, to grow at a great height, and yet must do so by the support of another. The oak was able to bear it cloudward. It embraced his coarse bark. It grew fast upon the surface, and thus ascended to its proper height. Clinging thus at an elevation it produced its glutinous fruit. This might well be the visible expression of the love of Jove and Venus. At least the curiosity and superstition of the pagan must be excited at the phenomenon of a plant of this sort

In what manner the mistletoe became an object of adoration.

attaching itself without root to a tree of the forest.—Such are some of the rudiments of the druidical cult out of which the perfected system may have sprung.

But in the first place it were better to consider the ideas which were prevalent in the minds of the Druids —their views of nature and of man. The druidical

DRUIDS INCITING THE BRITONS TO OPPOSE THE LANDING OF THE ROMANS.

priests were the highest order of nobility among the Gauls. Men of rank and dignity aspired to be enrolled in the priesthood. The latter were the religious guides and instructors of the people. They were also the custodians and expositors of the rude laws which were acknowledged. They had, moreover, the power to decide what was and what was not in accordance with the constitution of the Celtic race, and to inflict upon all violators the penalties due for crime. Their prerogative extended in this respect to the exile of the offenders from Gaulish society. The president of the Druids was the highest officer in the state. Though elective in the first place, his dignity was lifelong. All instruction was in the hands of the Druids. They were the depositaries of the lore of the Celtic people. They aspired to interpret nature and man. Some of them had the skill of writing, and in so doing employed an alphabet which was said to be the Greek.

Predominance of the Druids over Celtic society.

But writing was not used as a preservative of knowledge. All teaching was given forth orally. The highest ambition of the young Celt, whether in Gaul or Britain, was to attain membership and rank among the Druids. The youth who enrolled himself as a neophyte might expect to spend *twenty years* in discipline before entering upon the office and rank which he sought. He must learn the druidical traditions and mysteries by heart, and be in turn prepared to repeat them in their integrity to others who might come to him for instruction. One of the fundamental beliefs was that of the immortality of the soul. It was said that the system was theoretically an approximation to the doctrines of Pythagoras. At any rate the Druids believed in metempsychosis, and many of their rites and practices were touched with this doctrine. The belief in the efficacy of offerings to the gods was prevalent, and reached even to the sacrifice of human life. It was only in extreme cases, however, that human beings were offered up, and even in such instances they who were sacrificed were generally criminals, whose lives had been forfeited. Perhaps the druidical theory stands alone in regard to this custom of sacrificing to the gods the lives of those who by crime had already fallen under the ban of law.

Aspiration of young Gauls to reach the druidical rank.

Non multo, or "not by much," is the language of Cæsar when speaking of the difference of the customs between the Gaulish and British Celts. He contends that they were virtually alike. And this testimony is borne out in the writings of Cicero and Pliny. Britain has generally been regarded as the seat of the druidical faith, and no doubt the vast oak woods, heavy, dark, and ominous, furnished a better vantage ground for the native growth of this peculiar faith than might be found in Gaul. But the system was one in both countries, as the race was one; and the capital of the druidical cult was in Gaul, in the territories of the Carnutes, near the modern city of Dreux. This place was regarded as the religious center of the Gaulish race. From this all decisive edicts and interpretations were issued, and the place continued to be of much interest under the Roman sway in Gaul, and even down to the time when it was taken by the Northmen.

Capital of the druidical system established in Gaul.

The druidical schools were occupied with the discussion of such learning as the northern barbarians might possess. Everything was done orally. Superstition was rampant, and tradition was ac-

cepted even as against the most palpable facts of nature. The priests were versed in astrology. The visible movements of the planets were not studied as a means to scientific knowledge, but with a view to gain therefrom such astrological lessons as men might apply to the conduct of life. Perhaps no race of men have passed into the sublime knowledge which the modern world possesses of the planets and stars without having been in certain stages of the evolution under the dominion of astrology. The geographical knowledge possessed by the Druids was imperfect and theoretical, and the same may be said of physical science in general. Their knowledge of phenomena was empirical. A belief in the uniformity of nature and the universality of causation had not yet appeared. Perhaps natural theology was the favorite study among the druidical priests. In this realm they might speculate to their heart's content, and other pagan philosophies of Western Europe and the East might beat upon the conclusions of the Gaulish priests without much advantage of fact or reason.

Schools of the Druids; limitations of their knowledge.

The druidical religion was a compound of mythology and natural philosophy. It was the opinion of Cæsar that their favorite deity was Mercury. In the sixth book of the *Commentaries* he says that they worship this god especially, and that there are many effigies of him. From the attributes which the Roman historian assigns to Mercury, we may think him correct in his estimate of the god and of his place in the Gaulish pantheon. Cæsar says that he was regarded as the inventor of all arts and the leader on all highways and of all excursions—that he had the guardianship of money and merchandise, and had great power. After this deity the Gauls adored Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva. Cæsar adds that concerning the latter group the Celts had about the same notion as other peoples. This would imply that although the worship of Mercury was especially popular, he was not himself regarded as the great god of the race, but rather Zeus.

Mercury the favorite deity of the Gaulish pantheon.

Whatever the relative rank of the divinities, it can not be doubted that the Gauls were as much, or perhaps more, given up to their superstitions than were any other of the Aryan races. Cæsar says that they were "wholly devoted to their religion." It was, moreover, a religion of advantage and protection. Cæsar declares that those who were for any reason afflicted with severe diseases and who were exposed in battles and other perils were wont to sacrifice men as votive offerings to the gods, and that they many times immolated themselves, using the druidical priests as their sacrificers. It was the theory of the race that it was not possible to placate the immortals unless for the life of man the life of man should be given in turn.

Devotion of Gauls to superstition; human sacrifice.

Cæsar gives also a description of the method of human sacrifice. An immense image, or simulacrum, was built up of the interwoven branches of trees. The effigy was in the likeness of a man, but perhaps represented the god to whom the offering was made. The simulacrum was hollow within. When everything was in readiness the human victims were put into the image, which was otherwise filled with combustibles. Then the whole was set on fire and the victims perished in the flames.

In the days of the Roman conquest of Gaul it was a common occurrence to

come upon what Cæsar calls the *exstructi tumuli;* that is, the "heaped-up mounds" which the sacrificial ceremonies had left behind in the consecrated place where the Gallic tribes assembled to offer their victims. The religious dogma and the exactions under it were exceedingly severe, insomuch that no Gaul might set himself up in opposition to the common views and accepted superstitions of his people. The Roman historian remarks that the punishment of any such heretic was "exceedingly severe."

The exstructi tumuli of Cæsar; severe punishments.

upon this belief. Light was regarded as the secondary, and darkness as the primary, phenomenon of nature. Light was the opposite of darkness. The night was the first thing. The day followed the night. The calendar was arranged by the night. An event had not occupied so many days, but so many nights, in its accomplishment. All time was reckoned in such manner. Birthdays and the beginnings of months and years and other critical and noted periods were all dated from the night. It is possible that the safety which the night afforded

CELTIC TUMULI AT BARTLOW, PARISH OF ASHDON, ESSEX.

It is not practicable to enter into a review of all that the observant Roman writers were wont to say about the religious ceremonial of the Gallic race. The original authorities from the side of Latin literature are Cæsar in his *Gallic War*, Cicero in his *Dialogues*, Diodorus Siculus, and Pliny. In general, these writers are agreed among themselves as to the leading features, and even the details, of the ceremonials and superstitions of the peoples north of the Alps. Everything was in the hands of the Druids. They transmitted the tradition of the past. They regarded themselves as the descendants of old Dis, the Celtic Pluto, god of the underworld.

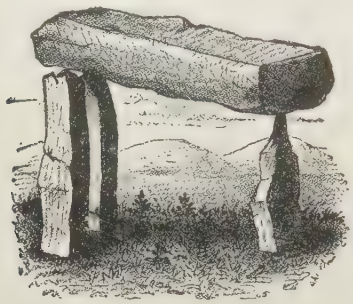
Usages, customs, and philosophy of the Druids.

Several curious customs were based to the northern nations, the quiet and secure gloom of the silent forest where they had their abodes, may have produced a sympathy for darkness and the disposition to regard Dis as the benevolent ancestor and patron god of the Gallic race.

The mistletoe plant, about which one of the principal superstitions of the Celts clung with so much tenacity, probably attained its place in the mythology of the Druids by the double circumstance that it was a parasite of the oak, or sacred tree, and that it was, or was thought to be, a plant of the night, like the nightshade and a few other growths, that are even yet regarded by the common people with a kind of

The mistletoe the plant of darkness and mystery.

awe. The name of the mistletoe in Greek is *idzia*, or *idzos;* the Latin, *viscum*. In Anglo-Saxon the word is *misteltan;* and in Icelandic, *misteltcinn*. The syllable tan, or teinn, means a twig or vine; and the mistel is mist, fog, or darkness. It was the plant of darkness

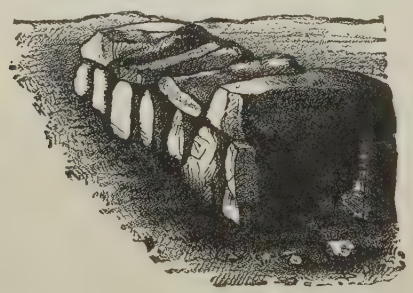


DRUIDICAL DOLMEN, CASTLE-WELLAN, IRELAND.

as well as a parasite of the sacred oak. In this way it got, in the estimation of the Celtic hierarchy, its place of reverence, and became finally one of the central ideas in the whole cult.

We are indebted to Pliny for an elaborate account of the druidical ceremony with respect to the mistletoe. In the first place, he notes the medicinal effects of the plant, and repeats the common belief of antiquity that it aided in conception, removing sterility in cases

Belief of the Gauls in the virtues of the mistletoe.

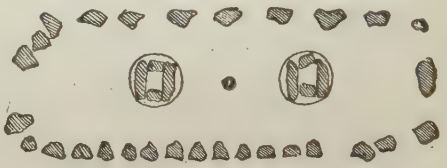


DRUIDICAL PASSAGEWAY OF MEGALITHS, FRANCE.

where the same existed. It may be said in general, that everything in the ancient pharmacopœia which tended to the fertility of females was regarded with superstitious veneration. The mistletoe did not, according to general belief, grow abundantly in connection with the oak tree. On the contrary, it was found only rarely in that situation. It was the occasional association with the sacred oak, combined with the other circumstances which we have named, that gave to the mistletoe its place in the national religion. Whenever it was found on the oak it was regarded as a mark of the particular favor of heaven; and a ceremonial had existed immemorially relative to the taking and use of the plant.

Among the Celts the sixth day, or rather the sixth night, of every moon was the beginning of the month, and also the beginning of the year. The principle was carried out to what was called an *age;* that is, thirty years, each

Ceremonial of the cutting and the feast.



GROUND PLAN OF DRUIDICAL STRUCTURE, DENMARK.

period of that duration beginning with the sixth night after the new moon. It was on the sixth day of the first new moon after the beginning of the year that the mistletoe cutting and ceremonial were celebrated. It was one of the most conspicuous public acts of the druidical worship. First, the mistletoe must be found on the oak. This done, a sacrifice and festival were provided at that place. Then the Druids, all clad in white, marched forth, accompanied by the people, to the tree where the mistletoe grew. The officiating priest had a golden sickle, or knife with a curved blade, and with this, having ascended the oak, he cut the sacred plant from its place. It was allowed to fall. A white mantle was held under the falling plant, to pre-

vent it from touching the earth. This done, with care and according to the rules of the ceremony, the mistletoe was divided among all who participated. It was called in Latin the *Omnia Sanans*, that is, the All-Heal.

Meanwhile, two white bulls or white heifers had been brought under the tree and were offered by the priests. They were slain when the plant fell from its fastening on high. Prayers were offered by the priests that unusual healing virtues might be given forth from the leaves and twigs and fruit of the sacred plant. It was divided up among the worshipers. Some made of it a decoction and *drank it* as a cure for sterility. Others used the same remedy for poisons and various diseases. Other parts of the plant were taken away by the people and preserved with superstitious veneration, under the belief that it was the veritable All-Heal of the household. The ceremony of the cutting was concluded with the sacrifice of the bulls and with a feast.

SUPPOSED DRUIDICAL MONUMENT.

Second only in importance and interest to the taking of the mistletoe from the oak was another spectacular superstition which the old Latin authors called *Ovum Anguineum*, or the Snake's Egg. It was the belief among the Druids that numbers of serpents were wont to get into a tangled mass, engaged in some struggle peculiar to their race. While thus rolling and tossing together an egg was produced from the saliva and froth of the intertwined and contending serpents. As soon as the egg was formed it was thrown into the air and held up by the blowing; and it was believed that for a Druid to succeed in catching this ovum anguineum in his white apron before it could reach the earth was the most skillful, providential, and auspicious event in his whole life! He must, moreover, ride away at full speed on a horse which had been in waiting for him, for the superstition made it that the serpents would pursue him at full speed, and would only stop when he had ridden across running water. The serpent's egg thus taken was regarded as the greatest of charms and talismans. It had many remarkable properties. One of these was that thrown into running water, it would of itself ascend the current. Even though it were incased in gold or other heavy metal which might well sink it to the bottom, it would nevertheless ascend the stream. Pliny had himself seen one! He describes it as follows: "It is about the size of a moderately large round apple, and has a cartilaginous rind studded with cavities like those on the arms of a polypus."

Finding and taking of the ovum anguineum.

There were at least two other sacred plants associated with the mysticism of the Druids. The first of these was the *Samolus*, or marshwort. The second was the hedge hyssop, called the *Helago*. The finding of either was regarded as a piece of good fortune, and the method of taking and preserving the plant was carefully prescribed. The marshwort must be cut with the left hand, after a fast, and without looking at it. Before taking the hedge hyssop, the person de-

Superstition of the marshwort and the hedge hyssop.

ciring it must pass through ablutions. He must make offerings of bread and wine, be barefooted, and recover the plant without any knife at all. It is said that *Vervain*, or verbena, was also sacred to the Druids, and must be taken in accordance with the rules of a ceremony. Bits of such plants were worn by the Celts as charms. It was reckoned that the prophylactic influence of these sacred things was good for the wearer

bottom ideas upon which the system was founded. Divination was a part of it. The Druids were prophets, foretellers, soothsayers. After the manner of the Romans, they were wont to cultivate the auguries. For this purpose the flight of birds and the peculiarities of the entrails of sacrificial animals were studied. The profounder ceremonies, the true mysteries, were celebrated in the depths of the forest or in secluded

RUINS OF A DRUIDICAL CIRCLE AT AVEBURY, WILTSHIRE.

not only against physical evils, such as disease and accident, but also against the moral and mental maladies to which human life is subject.

It was the policy of the Druids to keep their lore a secret. They permitted only so much of it to be divulged as the necessities of the ceremonial required. Like the Egyptian priests, they kept the real cult among themselves. They were careful that it should not be recorded or given out to the vulgar. For this reason not much is known of the

Secretiveness of the Druid seers; ruins of the cult.

caverns by the sea. As to temples, the Druids had none, but it is believed that the great megalithic monuments scattered over France and Britain were left by this people. The ruins of Stonehenge have been regarded as the cathedral of the Arch-Druid of Britain, and those of Avebury, with its circular avenue and its serpent, are thought to have been druidical symbols. The dolmens and cromlechs of Great Britain and Ireland are reckoned to belong to the same class of remains. Nearly all druidical structures were circular. It

is believed that the great stone circle at Stonehenge included originally a sacred grove of oaks, where the supreme worship of the British Celts was performed.

The druidical society was carefully organized. The sacred officers were divided into three classes. The triad, indeed, was made the basis of nearly every feature of the system. The first class included the Druids proper, who were the priests of the race, using the term priest in its limited sense of an officer who offers prayer and makes sacrifices for others. The Vates, or prophets, were intimately associated with the Druids, but were not considered as true priests. It was their business to observe occult phenomena, such as the flight of birds, the entrails of victims, and other indicative signs, and to interpret such hidden things to the worshipers. They were to prophesy of events yet to come, and to indicate the policy of the race in war and peace.

DRUIDS, FRANKS, AND GAULS—RACE TYPES OF THE DARK AGES.

Organization of the druidical order; Bards and Druidesses.

The third class included the Bards, or singers, who composed the sacred songs which were used in worship and by the people in general. It appears, however,

that the bards found that they increased their popularity by extending their themes to warlike adventure, to satire and invective. Most of the fragments of ancient literature having a druidical cast are warlike and satirical in their themes. Over against the druidical order were the Druidesses, or female prophets, who, while they did not share the prerogatives of the priests, did exercise a vast influence over the people. They inspired all the reverence and terror which are usually given to the prophetess, the sorceress, the witch. They, like the Druids, were divided into three classes on the basis of their reputation and sanctity, and it is said that the rules of their conduct were exceedingly capricious and contradictory.

DRUIDESSES DANCING AROUND MEGALITHIC IDOL.

We are here on the threshold of the dark and criminal mysteries belonging to Druidism. Perhaps for the want of sufficient data we shall never be able to evoke and put in form the true story of the orgies and corruptions which the Druidesses were wont to celebrate. The first order was made up of those prophetesses who could reveal the future only to those who had polluted their persons. The second class was constituted on exactly the opposite principle. They were bound to perpetual virginity, being no doubt somewhat like the vestal virgins of Rome. The third class also had their distinction on the sexual relation. They were such as were bound to long periods of restraint. In general, they were allowed to visit their husbands but once a year. There were, moreover, certain nocturnal rites which these Celtic bacchantes were wont to celebrate. On such occasions their naked bodies were painted black, and, with their hair flying and every evidence of wild excitement, they gave themselves up to orgy and frenzy.

Dark mysteries of the system; nocturnal rites.

The island of Sena, off the coast of Britagne, where the Senes dwelt, was the seat and center of the ceremonies and college of the Druidesses. Here once in each year, between the setting and rising of the sun, they must pull down and rebuild their temple, being careful that no fragment of the sacred materials should be allowed to fall to the earth. The work was done under the greatest excitement and amid frantic dances and other evidences of transport. One may readily see in all this the evidence of the ultimate ethnic affinity of the Celtic race with the Greeks and the Hindus, among whom the celebration of such mysteries was a favorite form of religious expression.

Demolition and rebuilding of the temple in Sena.

At the time of the contact of the Romans with the Celtic race, the influence of the Druids, their absolutism over the people, had somewhat declined. A sec-

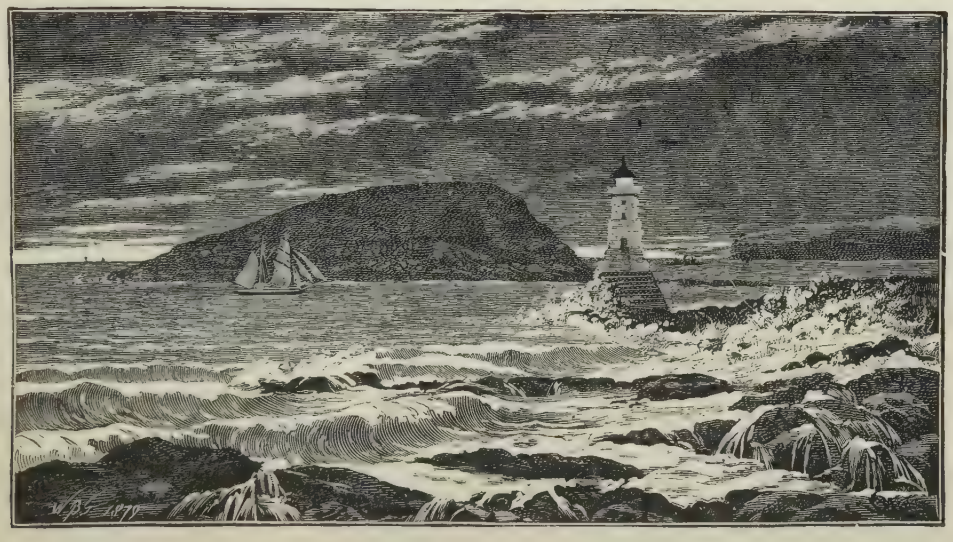
ularizing tendency had sprung up—as always happens when a race is advancing toward the light—and the Equites, or Horsemen, that third elective order of nobility of whom we have spoken, had checked by their rivalry the power and irresponsible prerogative of the Druids. At this time the Gaulish knights were in the ascendant, and the Romans had much more cause to fear them than they had to be in dread of the druidical order, with its superstitions and ceremonies.

The Druids reduced by the secular power of the Equites.

and their mysteries. They consequently encouraged the Gauls to stand against the Romans, to fight them to the last.

Druidism receded before the Roman arms. From Central Gallia it fell back to the west into Armorica, and then into Britain. The expiring energies of the ancient cult here flamed up with animosity and great heat. The island of Mona, or Anglesea, may be regarded as the *ultima thule* of the druidical superstition. It was the last headquarters of the old religion of the Celtic race as

The ancient cult makes its last stand in Anglesea.



PUFFIN ISLAND, OFF THE COAST OF MONA.

It was against the latter, however, that the Roman policy was chiefly directed. As a rule, the conquerors were very tolerant of the religions with which they came in contact; but Druidism was a sort of antagonistic force so stubborn in spirit and so dominant that its extermination seemed to be demanded. All the other parts of Celtic society yielded ready obedience and conformity to the Roman polity, but the Druids saw in the invaders from beyond the mountains the fatal enemies of themselves

Rome must contend with both Knights and Druids.

it receded before the conquering legions of Rome. It was the policy of the Romans to destroy the druidical groves and overturn their sacred stones wherever they were found. One after another of the oak woods which had been appropriated for ages to the dark mysteries and ceremonies of the druidical worship were cut down as the Roman conquest widened to the British channel.

In the times of Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman legionaries bore down on Anglesea, and were confronted at

their landing by an array of Druid priests, before whom at the first the soldiers of the south were struck with awe. It was with difficulty that they could be rallied to the attack of these strange and half-supernatural spirits of the woods. Fearful were the imprecations which the latter poured out on the heads of the advancing Romans, but it was all in vain. The soldiery of the empire was not to be impeded in its progress by a bulwark of superstition

SAINT COLUMBA PREACHING IN MONA.

The British priests and their horde of warriors were attacked and put to flight. Then the groves of the island were invaded, and the altars where the bloody

sacrificial rites had been performed for centuries were broken down. The dark groves themselves were swept away, and the system which had prevailed over the duration of the time for unknown ages was driven from its ancient seats, to become a reminiscence among the peasants.

Conquests and aspirations of the Island by the Romans.

Christianity which went forth on the shining wagons of war, could not conquer by violence, but only by persuasion. Such a hierarchy as that of the druidical priesthood was not likely to yield to the persuasion of missionaries. As well might we expect the pentecostal of Jerusalem to have listened with patience to an appeal which, if heeded, would have

FORTH BRIDGE FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

If history or ethnography were permitted to indulge in conjecture, it might be interesting to inquire what would have happened to the Christian monks and evangelists who made their way into Western Europe if the Druids had been left in possession of the influence and practices of the Celtic race. Rome was wont to cut down barriers with the sword. Christianity, at least that early

What might have been in a contest of Christianity with Druidism.

undone the whole priestly organization of Jewry, as to expect that the proud, bigoted, and overbearing Druids of Gaul and Britain would yield to the new doctrine of the Christian monks.

But long before this contingency arose, long before Christianity was accepted by Rome herself, the power of Druidism in all the West was broken by violence. Even in the oak woods of Britain, in the

Rome made a way with her sword for the Christian monks.

very island of Anglesea, which was its last stronghold, it had become a private superstition. As a public worship it had disappeared, not only on the Continent, not only in Britain, but even in Ireland, before the Christian monks, who in Saint Gregory's time came into England, brought thither the rudiments of the new religion. Imperial Rome was thus the forerunner of that great system of faith and practice which was destined to prevail in all the west of Europe and in the New World beyond the waters.

It thus happened that on the incoming of the Christian fathers into Western Gaul and Britain the system of Druidism had already become a tradition. Only a few allusions are found in the patristic writings to the Gaulish religion which had so long been dominant in this region of the world. The references to the Druids in the works of Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and others, show conclusively the limited acquaintance of the authors with the priesthood and the people to whom they refer. It was, however, the early dawn of Celtic poetry and romance before the recollection of the system vanished from the minds and imaginations of men. The first poems and tales of the Irish race are flecked here and there with allusions to the ancient white-robed priests, who might be well called the Magi of the Celtic race. At the time of which we speak the Druids had in tradition taken the character of sorcerers. They were believed by the first Christians in the far West to have been in league with the evil spirits of paganism, and to have been as much given to troubling their enemies as to benefiting their friends.

Celtic poetry arose with the fall of Druidism.

Such was the superstition of the people of Ireland when the first Christian missionaries made their way into the country. The new teachers had to confront the old ethnic feelings of the race in favor of their own ancient priesthood. One of the means adopted by them to accomplish this result was to spread abroad a belief in their own superiority over the ancient apostles of evil. They let it be known that they, the evangels of the new faith, were able to triumph over the malice and demonism of the ancient sorcerers. It is said in one of the biographies of this epoch, the *Life of Saint Columba*, that he was miraculously victorious over the devilism of Broichan, chief Druid of the Pictish king, and that the success of the holy man was attributable to this circumstance.

The new faith flows in the channels of the old.

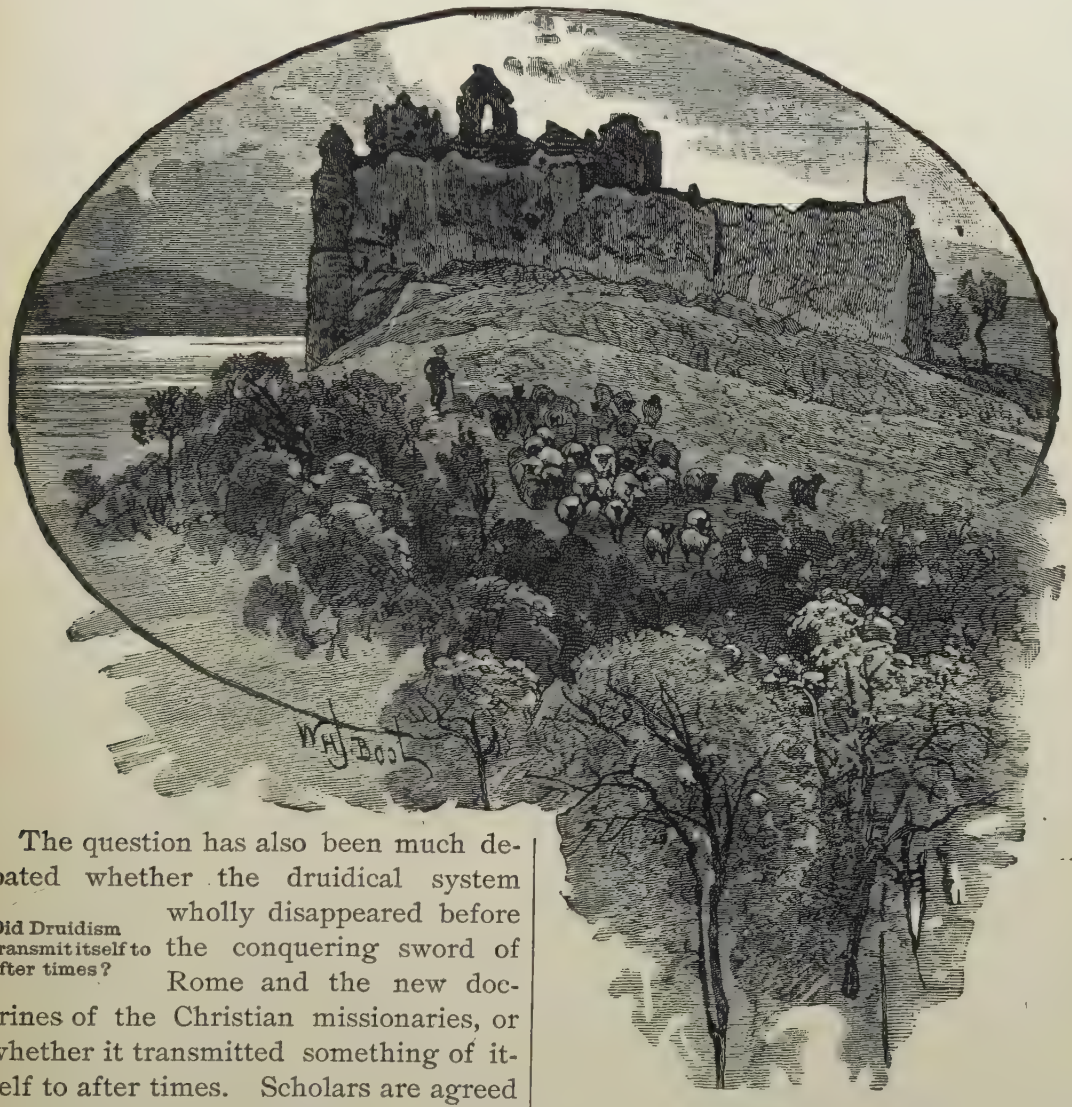
The connection of the Druids and their system with the East has been a subject of much controversy. The coincidence of their beliefs and those of Pythagoras has already been pointed out. It can not be doubted that they accepted metempsychosis as a leading feature of their faith. The god Hesus whom, according to Lucan, they worshiped as the supreme deity, was perhaps identical with some one of the Syrian gods. Their worship of Apollo was under the name of Belinus, and scholars have identified this word with the Phœnician Baäl. Inquiries of this sort, however, are very likely to mislead. For when such identities are discovered, the question still remains whether the one is derived from the other or the other from that; or, still deeper is the question, whether both have not been deduced from the same common original, lost to history. It would appear on the whole that the doctrine and practices of the Druids were as nearly a native production of the

Connection of Druidism with Eastern mythologies.

Celtic race, as little derived from other sources as the usages of any other branch of the human family. It might not be far wide of the truth to assert that Druidism was a native growth of Gaul and Britain, and that its entire destiny belonged to the evolution of Celtic nationality in those two countries.

been claimed in recent times that the Bards, or third division of the hierarchy, survived the shock of conquest and the still greater shock of Christian invasion.

An examination of the literature of the Welsh has given rise to the belief that a considerable figment of Druidism was covertly transmitted by the druidical bards from the pre-Christian to the post-Christian epoch. It is claimed that a system of belief was largely prevalent in the west of



OYSTERMOUTH CASTLE.
Drawn by W. H. Boot.

Did Druidism transmit itself to after times?

The question has also been much debated whether the druidical system wholly disappeared before the conquering sword of Rome and the new doctrines of the Christian missionaries, or whether it transmitted something of itself to after times. Scholars are agreed that the Druid priests were driven out of existence, that they receded from their strongholds, were scattered, forced into obscurity and extinction. The same may be said also of the public practices of the Vates, or prophets. But it has

Great Britain, in Wales, and in Ireland, to which scholars have given the name of Neo-Druidism. The theory is that while the bards, or singers, of the Celtic race in the Dark Ages accepted nominally the doctrines and practices of Christianity, they secretly perpetuated the old druidical rites and ceremonies, mixing the same with the Christian form of belief, and thus preserving even to the later Middle Ages something of the spirit but little of the glory of the ancient religion.

Post-Christian epoch and Neo-Druidism in Wales.

Somewhere between the sixth and the twelfth century of our era, in the monasteries of Wales, a literary compilation was made which is known under the name of the *Black Book*, embracing the religious poems of the age in which it was composed. An examination of these poems has tended to foster the belief that while they are nominally Christian, they are really, in their spirit and a large part of their substance, druidical. There are certain political and civil facts also which tend to the conviction that the influence of the Druids outlasted the existence of their order. The old authority was felt and acknowledged by the Celts of Britain and Ireland and Armorica long after the white-robed priests had disappeared from the land. The old unexplained customs of the people, the superstitious usages, the rudiments of law and other social phenomena, are believed to have been druidical in their origin, and to have continued as active forces in society for centuries after the decadence and obliteration of Druidism. It may be accepted as historically true that during the whole of the Roman supremacy in the British Isles, the spirit of the druidical system, if not its tangible forces, resisted the foreign domination. The Emperor Claudius was constrained to issue rigorous orders for the suppression of the Druids. Many other public acts had for their bottom motive the same cause in these western confines of the empire. But the great lapse of years between the Roman conquest and the introduction of Christianity had so weakened the ancient religion, that by the time of the coming of Saint Gregory it was a force no longer to be feared.

The "Black Book" shows transmission of the ancient faith.

Curious scholarship has found a double element in the system of druidical worship. It is at once a subjective, speculative form of religion, concerning itself with the nature and destiny of man; and an objective, realistic form of belief, concerning itself with the philosophy of the outer world. It is on the speculative side that it seems to be allied with the religious beliefs and practices of the East. Such a doctrine as the transmigration of souls, such a belief as that which proposes the immortality of man, can hardly be said to be native to the West. Beliefs of this kind have generally been found to have their origin among the dreams of the East. It is in the objective consideration of nature that Druidism is associated with the general doctrines and practices of the Aryan race. In so far as the system was a mythology, it had its Aryan kinships among the Greeks and the Romans; but in so far as it contemplated the immortality of the soul, and particularly the continuance of the human soul in bodily forms through which it is destined to pass, upward or downward, according to its moral tendencies, the druidical doctrine was probably brought with the Celts from some ancient connection in the Orient. It has been suggested, not without reason, that of the two branches of the Celtic race the

Philosophical sources of the druidical system considered.

Cymric, or British, was the elder and more Oriental in its cast; while the Gadhelic, or Gaelic, was of a latter migration to the West—that the former brought and disseminated in the West the speculative part of Druidism, while the Gaelic Celts carried the mythological and spectacular part of the system to the same destination. Possibly the unity and confluence of the two divisions of the Celtic family in Gaul and Britain might account for the presence of the double element in the national faith.

CELTIC MANNERS.—MARRIAGE OF EVA AND STRONGBOW.

It appears that the doctrine of metempsychosis as taught by the Druids made a powerful impression upon the minds of the Roman writers. The Druids did not accept the belief in a nether world to which the spirits of the dead might be condemned, or of any intermediate state in which they must pass the time in purgatorial fires until they should be cleansed of earthly impurities. The system was purely Pythagorean. It insisted that the souls of the dead were put into other bodies; that they returned to the earth in the guise of animals and birds and men, not knowing their own origin in the past, not discerning their own destiny in the future. The poet Lucan, in his poem of *Pharsalia*, as translated by Rowe, gives a fair exposition of the teachings of the Druids. He says:

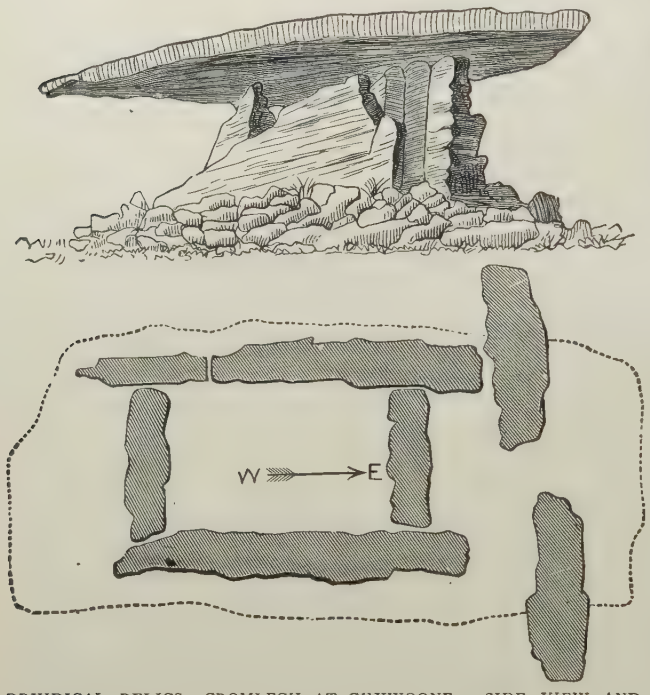
Druids substitute metempsychosis for Tophet.

"If dying mortals' dooms they sing aright,
No ghosts descend to dwell in dreadful night;
No parting souls to grisly Pluto go,
Nor seek the dreary silent shades below;
But forth they fly, immortal in their kind,
And other bodies in new worlds they find.
Thus life forever runs its endless race,
And like a line Death but divides the space,

A stop which can but for a moment last,
A point between the future and the past.
Thrice happy they beneath their northern skies,
Who that worst fear, the fear of death, despise:
Hence they no cares for this frail being feel,
But rush undaunted on the pointed steel;
Provoke approaching fate, and bravely scorn
To spare that life which must so soon return."

Owing to the fact that the Druids carefully avoided committing to writing the secrets of their annals, their traditions, and particularly their religion, trusting as they did everything to oral couplets—of which Cæsar said they had "a vast number"—the scholarship of after times has been greatly perplexed to make out for them, and if for them, for the Celtic race, a connected and authentic history. The old Romans knew them not. It is to Cæsar, to Cicero, to Lucan, to Pliny, to Tacitus that we are indebted for our scanty knowledge of the druidical system, and indeed for a large part of what we know concerning the Celtic race. In modern times John Toland, a British author of the beginning of the eighteenth century, took up the subject as a study, and gave a more complete outline to Celtology than it had ever had before. This outline was followed up by Pelloutier in his *History of the Celts*. Into these writings and those which have followed on the same foundation much imaginary and conjectural material has been incorporated; but at the same time much that is authentic and philosophical has been preserved.

Dependence on Roman authors for knowledge of Druidism.



DRUIDICAL RELICS—CROMLECH AT CHYWOONE. SIDE VIEW AND GROUND PLAN, AFTER BORLASE.

The preservation of Eastern opinions and practices by the Druids is still further illustrated in their symbolical use of fire. The Druids were the Parsees of Britain and Gaul. Fire was used in nearly all of their ceremonials; and it is in evidence that the element was regarded with superstitious veneration. The Celtic year was regulated by the moon cycle. It began on the tenth of March; and, as we have seen, the sixth day of each moon was a sacred day, on which festivals and other observances were to be held. There were four major ceremonies during the year. The first, that of the mistletoe, occurred on the sixth day of the moon succeeding the tenth of March; the second on the sixth day of the moon after the first of May; the third was celebrated on Midsummer Eve, June 21; and the fourth on the last day of October.

Symbolical use of fire; the moon cycle.

On all of these occasions fire was kindled, either for sacrifice or adoration. On the eve of the May festival all of the domestic fires of the people were put out, and on the following day were lighted again,

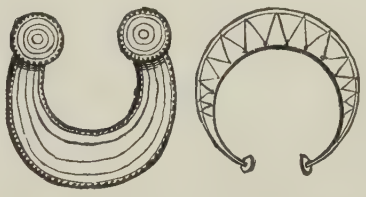
The fire festivals perpetuate themselves to modern times.

with torches which had been kindled at the sacred altar kept by the Druids. It is said that down to the eighteenth century the Roman Catholics in Ireland were wont to kindle a sort of bonfires in all their fields on Midsummer Eve, and with flaming brands to make the circuit of their cornfields. This usage prevailed also in Gaul and in the Scottish Highlands. It was believed that by this means the blessing of heaven might be had on the ripening fruits and grains of the fields which were ready for the sickle. The fires of May Day eve were lighted for blessings on the newly planted crops, and those on the last day of October were for the conclusion of the gathering of fruits—the autumnal festival with which all nations have been wont to conclude the labors, anxieties, and risks of the summer. In Ireland and the north of Scotland the May and June fires are still known under the name of Beltane, or Beltein, which scholars render as Bell Fire, that is, Fire of Baäl. It can hardly be doubted that there is in all this some evidence of the Eastern origin of Druidism, and the still more certain evidence that the druidical system, incorporating itself popularly with Christianity along the extreme west of Europe, has transmitted some of its usages to modern times.

Loss or partial preservation of the Celtic names of the gods.

It is to be regretted that the Roman authors should not have given the words of the Celtic vocabulary in describing the religious system of Gaul and Britain. This is particularly so with respect to the names of the deities whom the Gauls worshiped. With these names the affinities of the religious system under consideration might perhaps have been more accurately, at least more certainly, determined. But Cæsar and his scholarly countrymen were given to translating things into Latin. In enumerating the names of the Celtic deities they gave the Latin equivalents, and we are left somewhat to conjecture in determining what the vernacular names were.

It is said by Livy that the Spanish Celts called Mercury Teutates, which some have identified with the Egyptian Taut. It might be more in accordance with philological rules to identify the word with the Tuisco of the Scandinavians. We have already referred to the conjecture that the vernacular name of Apollo was Belinus, the Bel of the Assyrians. An old Celtic name of Jupiter is thought to have been Jow, which is said to mean "young," and if so, to have preserved the Aryan tradition that Jove was the youngest born of Saturn.



ORNAMENTS WORN BY DRUID PRIESTS.

There was, however, given to Jupiter another name, Taranis, which is believed to have meant "the thunderer."

Celtic and Teutonic barbarians build no temples.

In common with the usages of the north the Celts built no temples. Nor did they in the primitive stages of their development have any images of their gods. The oak was the emblem, and in some sense the visible presence, of Jupiter; and it is said that the cube was representative of Mercury. But these objects were not regarded as effigies. They were merely symbolical of the deities, and represented some of their attributes. In course of time, however, actual images of the deities were introduced. Such usage may have arisen after contact with the Romans and

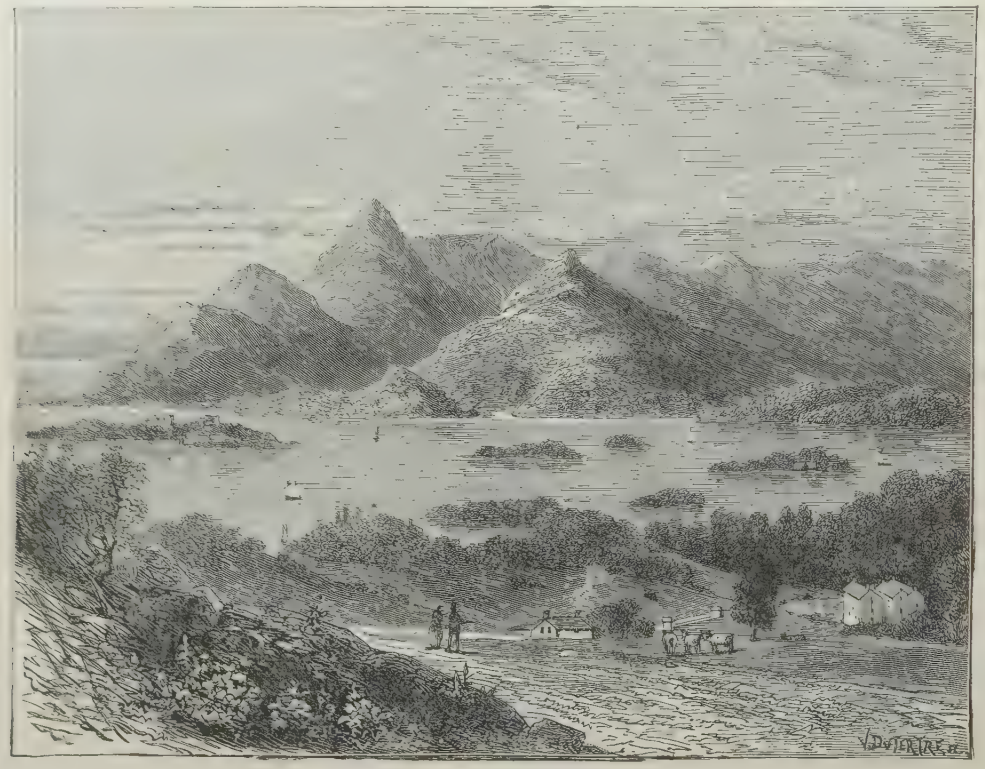
acquaintance with the religious manners of that people.

Alleged idolatry of the Gauls and Britons.

Some of the Christian fathers have represented Gaul and Britain as particularly idolatrous in their day. But such statements are usually exaggerations born of the zeal of the early missionaries, who were fond of depicting the low and idolatrous condition of the peoples among whom they wandered. It is certain, however, that the Celts in the post-Christian epoch had images of their gods, though they appear never to have fallen into temple building and spectacular display. In 1711, under the choir in the Church of Notre Dame at Paris, two images of Celtic gods were found, both in relief. The first was of Hesus, and the other of a deity called Cernunnos. But to what Roman god the latter corresponded there is no certainty.

Destinies of Druidism after the Roman conquest.

We may take a final survey of Druidism by noticing in a word its destinies after the Roman conquest. It was in 61 A. D. that Suetonius Paulinus overthrew the Druids in the Isle of Anglesea, thus virtually exterminating the order from Britain. It appears, however, that a remnant of priests and people escaped to the Isle of Man, and there for a while attempted to set up a new headquarters for the ancient system. It has been thought by some authors that the Gaelic Celts of the Highlands and of Ireland had not been so distinctly druidical as they now became under the influence of the fugitives from the Cymric Celts of the south and east.



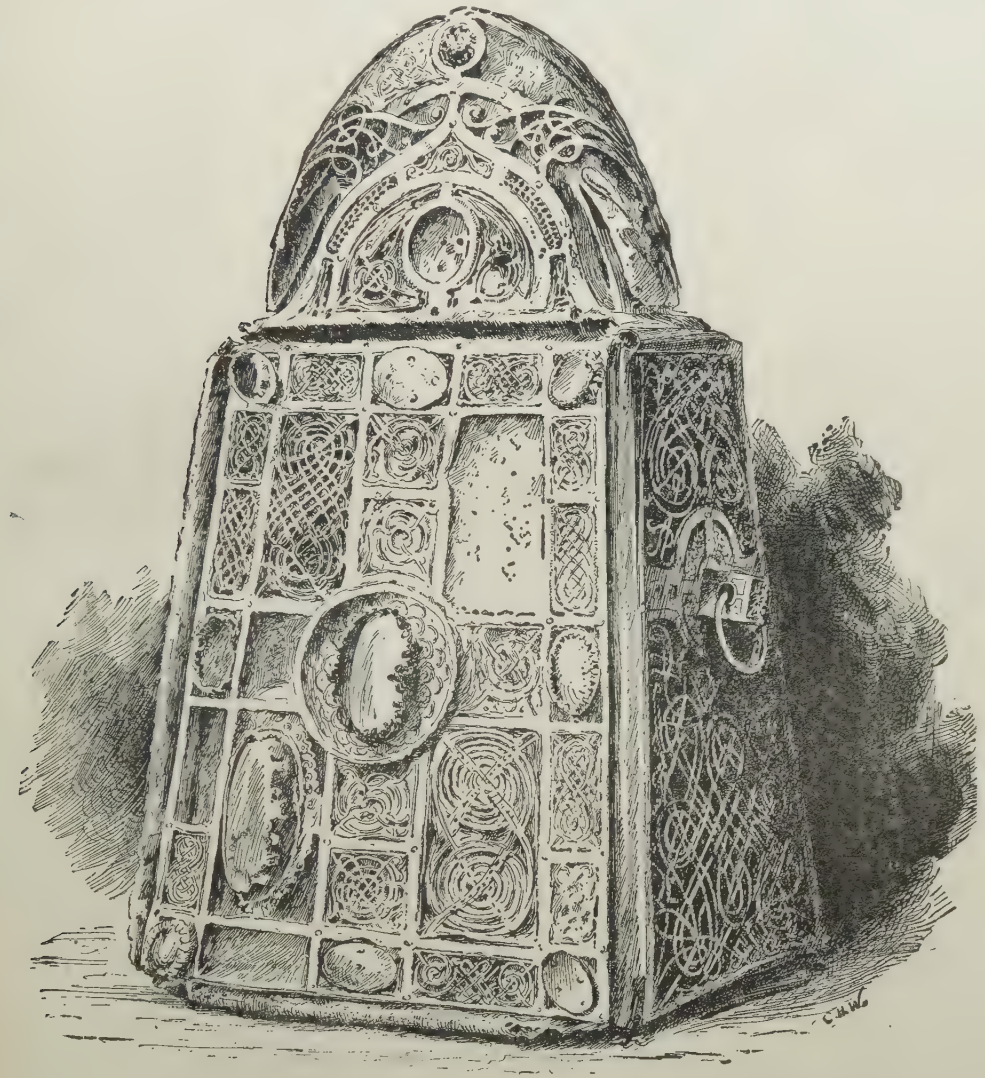
GLENGARIFF HARBOR AND BANTRY BAY.

Subsequently the system sank gradually into the earth; but vestiges of its presence were plentifully distributed in all the outlying Celtic countries of West-

ern Europe. Many of the popular customs and superstitions of the peasants preserve to the present day a memory of the druidical ceremonies; and these, together with the quaint architectural remains in North Britain, are the principal memorials of the peculiar religion of the Celts. In Scotland the principal seat of the ancient cult was in the parish of Kirkmichael, near the great range of the Grampian hills.

It was perhaps four hundred years before the visible, and we might say vital, evidences of Druidism disappeared in the countries where it had flourished. In Ireland it was still a living system as late as the middle of the fifth century. With what difficulty the Roman arms penetrated into this region is known to all students of history. But what the Roman legions could not accomplish, the zeal and enthusiasm of Saint Patrick effected among the Irish Celts. The old belief gave way before the preaching of the saint, and the Cross was set up in

Remaining vestiges of the system in Ireland.



SAINT PATRICK'S BELL.—From the original in the Royal Irish Academy.

the sacred groves of the Druids. In the annals of Great Britain as late as the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries the edicts of the Councils of the Church against the worship of the sun, the moon, the mountains, the rivers, the lakes, and *the trees* give evidence of the survival of the ancient beliefs and of the disposition of the British people to return to the religious usages of their ancestors. After the conquest of the country by the Danes, in the times of King Canute, a law was made and enforced against the old idolatries. Such practices, sports, and pastimes as All-hallowmas, the bonfires of May Day and Midsummer Eve, the virtues of the mistletoe, and many other village beliefs and usages are manifestly druidical in their origin. And the close observer may still see in the country ceremonies prevalent in the remote districts of England, Scotland, and Ireland an occasional grim shadow which has been cast thus far into the present by the opaque body of the druidical superstition.

CHAPTER LXXV.—GOVERNMENT, LANGUAGE, AND CULTURE.

THE civil organization of the Celtic race, their manner of government, their law-making, the administration of justice, are better known from the history of the British Celts than from those of Gaul. On the incoming of Cæsar there were no fewer than thirty-five tribes in possession of Britain. Here again in the use of the word *tribe* we must be on our guard against misrepresentation of facts. Perhaps the word *clan* comes nearer to the meaning. Each clan constituted a petty state. The territorial extent and place of these thirty-five barbarian principalities have been ascertained and recorded. Thus, for instance, the Brigantes had a territory extending from sea to sea, and including the modern counties of Durham, York, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire. The Cantii were the inhabitants of the little southeastern state of Cantium, the modern Kent. The Caledonii had their seats from Loch Fyne, on the west coast, extending across the country to the Moray Firth, including a portion of Inverness, parts of Argyle, Perth, and Ross. So of the many other nations. Ptolemy and other geographers have worked out the location of each according to the data in their possession, and doubtless with a fair approximation to the facts.

Place and boundaries of the principal British clans.

So far as a governmental system was concerned, the Celtic states had at least the rudiments of monarchy. It may not be supposed that each of the tribes had a king, or that there was any fixed rule in regard to the number of clans that were under a single chief, or sovereign. There was no doubt much diversity in this respect. Sometimes a great chieftain would rule several clans, and sometimes the territories of a given nation were ruled by several chieftains. Cæsar has mentioned the fact that in his time Cantium had no fewer than four contemporary kings.

Rudimentary forms of monarchy among the Celts.

We are here again troubled with the modern signification of words. The term *king* does not by any means corre-

BOADICEA.

spond with the fact of royalty as it existed among the Celtic tribes. The king was the headman. In a certain sense he was the ruler, the sovereign. His office, as we have seen, was elective. But it does not appear that he could be heredity had much to do with the succession to the royal office. It appears that among the German races the principle of election held its own; but among the Celts there was a constant tendency to substitute royal birth for election. It is held that in so far as the

Nature of the royal office; woman and heredity.

INVASION OF BRITAIN BY THE ROMANS.

deposed except by revolution. There is some contradiction relative to the rights of women among the Celts. In course of time the hereditary principle encroached upon the elective principle—as it always does among barbarous peoples. Before the coming of the Romans hereditary principal was recognized and followed in the choice of rulers, women were not disparaged, but had the same rights with men. It is certain that women were sometimes sovereigns among the British nations. The famous examples of Boadicea and Cartisman-

dua would be sufficient to attest the possibility of the female succession.

If, however, we should look for the full prerogatives of royalty among the ancient Celts, we should look in vain. Nominally the kings had the right to command the nation in war; but the secular nobility—that is, the horsemen, or knights—greatly impeded the freedom of the sovereign in this respect. And the druidical check was even greater, as it interposed the edict of heaven against any campaign or policy that was distasteful to the priestly order. Besides, the old British Celts could not have been induced to fight against the warnings and imprecations of the Druids. Dio Chrysostom has declared that the Celtic kings were not allowed under the constitution of the race to do *anything* without the sanction of the Druids. Though the kings were permitted by the priests to keep a show of royalty, to have their palaces, their nobles, and ministers of state, they were nevertheless subjected to the galling bondage of the superstitions and willfulness of the druidical order.

Royal prerogatives; check of the druidical order.

It appears, moreover, that at the time of the Roman conquest a popular element had appeared in many Celtic states. Ambiorix, one of the Gallic kings whom Cæsar met beyond the mountains, insisted that a popular clamor had compelled him to assault the camp of Cæsar against his stipulation not to do so. Some British chieftains who had infringed the rule of good faith by imprisoning the Roman ambassadors gave a similar excuse to the general, namely, that they had been driven to the arrest of the *legati* by the clamor and violence of the people.

Influence of the Druids in the Roman wars.

We should not think, however, that the people were able to interfere regularly in the administration of affairs, the making and administration of law. It was rather that indefinite and intangible thing called influence that they were able to exert. The Druids were the real legislators of the people. But it was the peculiar and salutary virtue of this Western theocracy, as it became the virtue afterwards of the Christian Church, to choose its priests from the people, and that, too, by elective process. The druidical priesthood was thus constantly reïnforced by material drawn from the bosom of the clan, the tribe, the nation. Laws made under these circumstances will doubtless be such as a theocracy will contrive for its own benefit; but at the same time they will be tinged with colors of the folks and permeated with sap which has been drawn up from the popular heart.

The priestly order replenished with recruits from the people.

The Druids, then, were the lawmaking power among the Celtic peoples. They were also the judges. This, added to the fact that they were the ministers of the national religion, made them especially powerful; and no doubt their tyranny was great. We are not informed as to what extent insurrection and the other weapons which native races, as well as civilized, are wont to use against their oppressors were employed by these ancient tribesmen to check the otherwise unlimited prerogative of the ruling order. It is thought by those who have looked attentively at the question that the great laws of the Celtic race were for the most part prepared, debated, enacted, promulgated at the annual assembly of the race at Dreux. This assembly might well stand for the Amphictyonic council of the Greeks. It was the Celtic congress. Whether the nobility—

Power of the priesthood; Celtic congresses.

that is, the secular chieftains and the knights—had much active participation in the lawmaking and judicial proceedings of the assembly we are left to conjecture, but the Druids were the dominant order.

In Britain, the seat of the national tribunal was in the Isle of Anglesea. It is believed that traces of this ancient holy place of the British Celts are still discoverable. Rowland, in his account of *Ancient Mona* (Anglesea), has given us the following account of the place:

Rowland's account of the cirque of Anglesea.

"In the other end of the township of Tre'r Dryw, wherein all these ruins already mentioned are, there first appears a large cirque or theater, raised up of earth and stones to a great height resembling a horseshoe, opening directly to the west, upon an even, fair spot of ground. This cirque or theater is made of earth and stones, carried and heaped there to form the bank. It is, within the circumvallation, about twenty paces over; and the banks, where whole and unbroken, about five yards perpendicular height. It is called Bryn-Gwyn, or Brein-Gwyn; that is, the supreme or royal tribunal."

We are not well acquainted with the actual method of making laws among the Celts, or of the style of administering justice. Something is said in Cæsar relative to the kind of punishments which were inflicted. These were various, according to the nature and degree of criminality. The husband had the power of life and death over his wife and children. It is in evidence that torture was sometimes added to the death penalty, and that it was a part of the method of obtaining evidence. As usual among barbarians, the law bore heavily on the woman. She who was suspected of having conspired against the life of her husband was put to torture.

Nature of punishment; the law for woman.

VIEW IN THE HEBRIDES.—Coriusk.

We have not thus far referred to the general concubinage and sexual license which seems to have prevailed among the British Celts. Nor is it known whether the druidical laws tolerated so

great laxity as appears to have been the usage of the people. The existence of such usages appears to strengthen the assumption that the druidical system had preserved in their Western development. It is known, however, that marriage was an institution among the Celts, particularly the Gauls. The latter peo-

TREATY BETWEEN SAXONS AND THE BRITISH KING.

was an importation from the East, and that the domination of the man and the sexual slavery of the woman were relics of Oriental usages which the Cymric Celts ple were more conformed to the principles of Roman society than were those of Britain and Ireland. Cæsar recites the principle of a Gallic law which re-

quired that the dowry brought by a wife to her husband should have added thereto an equivalent sum by the husband. The combined amount of property was enjoyed by them in common during the life of both, and went entire to the survivor after the death of either. These facts show that marriage was at least an authorized form under the druidical constitution.

Hints of the domestic estate of the Gauls and Britons.

Solinus has recorded a singular theory of government which was in vogue in the Caledonian islands; that is, the Hebrides. It was to interdict the accumulation of property by the sovereign. He was not allowed to own anything in his own right. But as compensatory for this deprivation he was permitted to take freely whatever he required for his use from any of his subjects. It was held that the monarch thus having no right of personal ownership could not be tempted to act the part of an oppressor in the hope of gain. The principle was carried out to the social and family relation of the king. He was not permitted to have a wife of his own. But the wives of his subjects were his in the same sense that their property belonged to him. Since his children under these circumstances could not be known, no such thing as heredity could be recognized. The classical scholar will not fail to recognize in this an exact duplication of one of the principles which Plato devised for his government of the ideal republic. In the *Atlantis* the king, or ruler, was to be supported in the identical manner here described of the Caledonian monarch. It should be stated, however, that some historical critics have supposed that Solinus drew upon his imagination for his facts, and that the custom which he ascribes to the inhabitants of the Hebrides had no existence except in his own imagination, or perhaps in his acquaintance with the *Atlantis* of Plato.

Restrictions laid by the Caledonians on their king.

If we now take a general view of the destinies of the Celtic race in Europe, we shall find that it was pressed from behind by the constant aggressions of other peoples. To what extent its own migrations were accelerated by ethnic annoyances on the eastern flank we may not know. Look at the broad countries between the Rhine and the western shores of Britain. They were all Celtic. This is said of the primeval condition, before the beginnings of history. But there was a constant tendency of the race to mass itself in the west, to recede toward the Atlantic, under the impact of the Romans and the Germans.

Pressure of the Celtic race to the west.

This pressure produced its greatest effect in Gaul. We have seen how this country was subdued at the beginning of our era, how it was Romanized and Latinized, how the population was gradually conformed to the Roman character. With the downfall of the empire of the West the Franks came in on the eastern borders, and the Burgundians. Meanwhile the Celtic race had slipped to the west. It had accumulated in Bretagne, all along the western parts of Gaul, in Britain, in Scotland, in Ireland, in the Isle of Man.

Then came the warrior Saxons. A conquest by *them* meant a very different thing from a conquest by the Romans. They were the hawks and eagles of the stormy sea. What they took they devoured. Their swords were worn out with slaughter, and their huge bodies were distended with the flesh of animals. Against them what could the Romanized British Celts, weakened by four centuries of subordination, do in battle?

The Saxons force the Celts into Wales and Cornwall.

They were even as flocks and herds before their pursuers. They were beaten into the earth. They fled to the west. They sought safety in the mountains of Wales and Cornwall. Never had the Celtic population been more completely from its original seats of one of the principal Aryan families made room for the transplanting of other families in its stead. It thus happens that the Celtic country ceases to be a Celtic country.

The Gaulish empire yields to the Romans and Germans.

DEFEAT OF THE SAXONS BY KING ARTHUR.

displaced by conquest than were they of all Southeastern Britain. If in the sixth century we glance at the Celtic race, we shall find it already accumulated in the westernmost parts of the British Isles and in the Highlands of Scotland.

This disturbance and forcing away First the Romans and then the Germans are poured into the Gallic territories until a new ethnic constitution is prepared. In England—that is, in a part of England—it is the Low Germanic stock that is planted in the place of the Celtic tree. The peoples of Celtic extraction become more and more limited

in their geographical area under the tremendous pressure from the East. The movement of the whole race of man into Europe had borne with ever-increasing weight upon the populations which had come into the continent in the prehistoric ages. These were crowded westward until all that remained of the unadulterated Celtic stock was found in the outlying islands along the northwestern coast.

CELTIC CROSS AT MONASTERBOICE.

But before proceeding to consider the evolution of the Celts into the modern peoples who truly represent the ancient race, let us look for a moment at the character of the language which the people of this family have employed in their intercourse and for literary expression. Should we put ourselves into the Celtic stream of speech in the times when the race was still dominant in the country west of the Rhine and north of the Alps, we should find the first branch to be the *Gaulish*, representing the tongues of those peoples whom the Romans conquered in Gaul. This division of the original language is not represented in any spoken dialect. It has contributed its influence to all varieties of French, just as the people who spoke the Gaulish dialects in Cæsar's time have contributed their blood and ethnic characteristics to the French race. But the language, the laws, the institutional forms, and the race character of the people south of the Alps were triumphant over the Gaulish nations and absorbed them.

Gaulish division of the Celtic languages.

The next branch from the principal stock is that of the *Celtiberian* stem, which carried into Central Spain one of the original peoples of that peninsula. But the speech of this branch of the Celtic family has also disappeared in the Spanish tongue, giving to it a slight modification in vocabulary and structure. Further on in the west we find the *Cymric* stem departing from the parent stock and contributing the primitive languages of Britain and the British Isles. Of this, that is of the old Cymric, there are three living representative dialects in the Cornish, the Armorican of Bretagne, and the Welsh. Branching from the Cymric is the Gadhelic stem, which has in like manner borne the threefold division of the Gael, or Highland Scotch; the Erse, or Irish; and the Manx. Such is a general sketch of the course and distribution of the Celtic languages in modern times. The Cymric stem and the Gadhelic are each represented by living tongues; but beyond this insular and precarious evolution the Celtic languages have sunk into the earth and disappeared.

The Celtiberian and Cymric branches of Celtic.

If, then, we group together for linguistic review the six varieties of Celtic speech which may still be regarded as living dialects—the Cornish, the Welsh, the Armorican, the Gaelic, the Erse, the Manx—we shall find them to be dialectical varieties of a common tongue, showing conclusively a derivation from a common origin. The departures among these speeches are wider between some than other of the dialects. Just as the six modern representatives of Latin have not been equally divergent from the parent stem, so the six varieties of Celtic are in various stages of evolution from the original Celtic stock.

The sixfold division of the Celtic tongues.

What must in the first place strike the beholder is the restricted geographical area to which the Celtic languages have been reduced. The aggregate of all the countries where the living tongues of this family are spoken is not greater than seventy-two thousand five hundred square miles, and the total populations who yet speak, or possibly *can* speak, a living dialect of Celtic derivation reaches no more than seven million five hundred thousand. When we reflect that the modern Latin languages are spoken by fully a hundred million of people, including two or three of the most powerful nations of the globe, we can but be astonished at the disparity. Only a short time before the Christian era the Latin tongue was limited to the Italian peninsula, while the Celtic languages were spoken over the larger part of Western Europe. But the vicissitudes of history and of ethnic growth and decay have so completely reversed the proportions anciently existing that the Celtic race proper is now confined to an area less than that of the State of Kansas; and the whole number of the people included as Celts proper hardly exceeds the present population of London!

Restricted geographical area of the race.

The Celtic language is a member of the great Aryan family. It is by this means rather than by historical data that the ethnic place of the Celtic race has been determined. The discovery of the affinities of the Celtic with the Græco-Italic languages, or more remotely with Sanskrit and Persic, belongs to recent times. It came with the development of philology. No sooner, however, had the scientific study of language begun than the radical identity of the Celtic with the great classical tongues of Southern Europe was made known.

Place of Celtic in the Aryan scheme of languages.

Even a half-critical glance at the Celtic vocabulary, to say nothing of grammatical structure, will establish its unity with Greek and Latin. The first ten numerals in Celtic run as follows: *un*, *dwy*, *tri*, *pedwar*, *pump*, *chwech*, *saith*, *wyth*, *naw*, *deg*. It would be impossible to convince any one at all acquainted with the Latin and Greek numerals that those of the Celtic tongue have not a common origin with the others. The same identity is discoverable in the pronouns. I, thou, and he, are in Celtic *mi*, *ti*, and *ev;* she is *hi;* we, *ni;* you, *chwi;* they, *hwy*, etc. If we look into the structure of the language, we find the declension of nouns effected both by terminations and prepositions, after the Latin manner. Nouns have two genders, masculine and feminine, being in analogy with French. Adjectives are formed from substantives and verbs. There is a comparative degree and a superlative. The feminine adjective is formed from the masculine by a change in the initial letter. There are so many of these initial mutations as to constitute a distinguishing feature of the lan-

Evidences of the Aryan character of Celtic speech

guage. A peculiarity of verbal conjugation is the absence of the present tense, the place of the same being taken by an infinitive with the verb *wyv* before it. The other tenses—imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and future—are formed in different moods after the analogies of Latin and Greek. Considered as a vehicle of expression, the language is one of simplicity, precision, and strength. It has the capacity to express abstract ideas in a single word, and has a rich and varied vocabulary of concrete roots.[1]

ROSS CASTLE, IN ROW ISLAND.

As we have said, the lore of the Druids was not reduced to writing. The Gaulish race of antiquity left no literature to excite the interest of men in the modern world. It was only after the conquest of the Celtic countries by the Romans and after the conversion of the people to Christianity that the language began to be used in literary production. We are able to see, though dimly, the transformation by which the old druidical orders of society were gradually changed to the new Christian order of learned men. By the close of the sixth century the scholarly class of British and Irish Celts had been organized in three grades, the first of which was called *Gradh Ecna*, or School of Wisdom. A graduate from this department of learning was known as a *Sai*, or *Sage*. The second department of learning was called the *Gradh Fene*. This was the professional learning, especially law. The third division was the *Gradh Fili*, which included polite learning—poetry.

The threefold organization of the learned Celts.

It is now clearly perceived that the latter, or literary class of Celtic wisemen, were the lineal descendants of the Vates, who, it will be remembered, constituted one branch of the druidical order—the Bards. The Irish Fili of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries thus took up the office of the ancient Celtic bard; and it is to this class of composers that we are indebted for whatever there is of the so-called Neo-Druidism; that is, the Christian Druidism of the Middle Ages.

Origin and character of the Irish Fili.

The first compositions of the Celtic

[1] The full Celtic vocabulary reaches over thirty thousand words.

race, viewed from a literary point of view, were the rhapsodies and incantations of the Fili. It can hardly be doubted that these old Irish poets preserved as much as they could of the spirit and sentiment of Druidism. Many were the backward looks and sighs of regret which they cast toward the old oak groves and stone altars which might drip no more with the blood of human sacrifices, which might hear no more the solemn intonations of the Arch-Druid as he stood up to pronounce the blessings of heaven on the faithful and the curses of the same heaven on the enemies of the holy faith. When Saint Patrick came, he was constrained—as all men are—to take things as he found them. He wisely admitted the hymns and incantations of the Fili into the new Christian worship. But he took care that those fatally infected with the spirit of paganism should be sung no more. As for the rest, the forms of prayer and praise which the ancient bards had used were retained, and became in the hands of the Irish singers the foundation of Celtic literature.

How Druidism was preserved and transmitted.

(1) VALLEY OF GLENDALOUGH; (2) IN GLENDALOUGH.

In these circumstances we may easily see the causes of the difficulties that ensued between the primitive Irish Church and the Church of Rome. The holy councils were quick to discover in the tone and manner of Irish Christianity the ethnic qualities of the race, the vestiges of the paganism of the Celts. The Irish Church was much accused of heretical and irregular procedures. The tonsure of the priests was not that which was prescribed from Rome. It was said to be the tonsure of Simon Magus, whose name had become a synonym for all magic, necromancy, and vaticination. It is evident that Rome was many times startled by the reäppearance in the psalmody and ritual of the Church in the western islands of the evident heathenism which Saint Patrick and his followers had permitted by translation from the ancient system.

Causes at issue between the Irish Church and Rome.

CRUCIFIXION.
From a Celtic bronze, in museum of Royal Irish Academy.

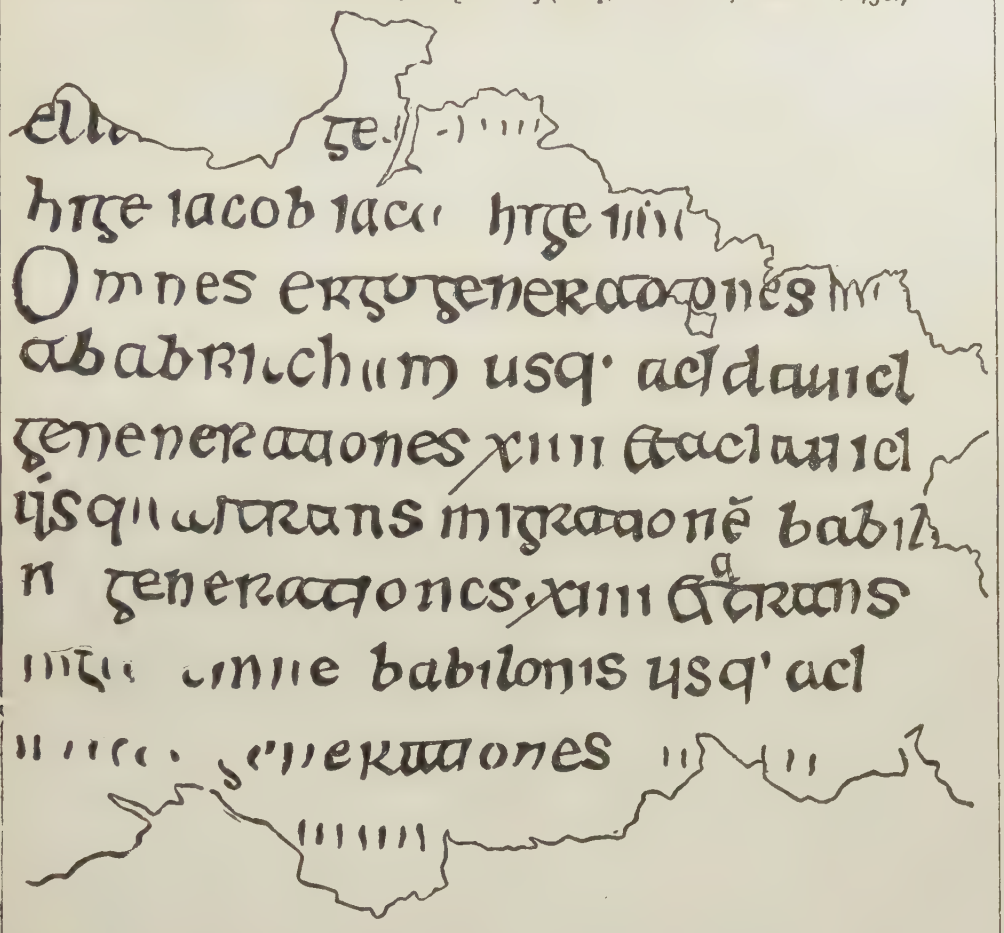
Of all the pagan society of Europe, that of Ireland and the neighboring Celtic countries was least transformed by the agency of Rome and the Christian Church. A complete exposition of the social and religious movements of the Irish race after the introduction of Christianity might well astonish us by the plenitude of the things preserved from the past and the paucity of the things incorporated from the future. We are here at the threshold of an astonishing fact, and that is that the native tongue of the Irish Celts was the first barbarian vernacular of all Europe to be raised into the literary form. It is not meant that this work was successfully or completely done. But it was done to the extent of preserving in a vast mass of mediæval poems and stories the language and traditions of a race which was evidently tending to extinction.

The Irish race preserves the essential qualities of the Celtic.

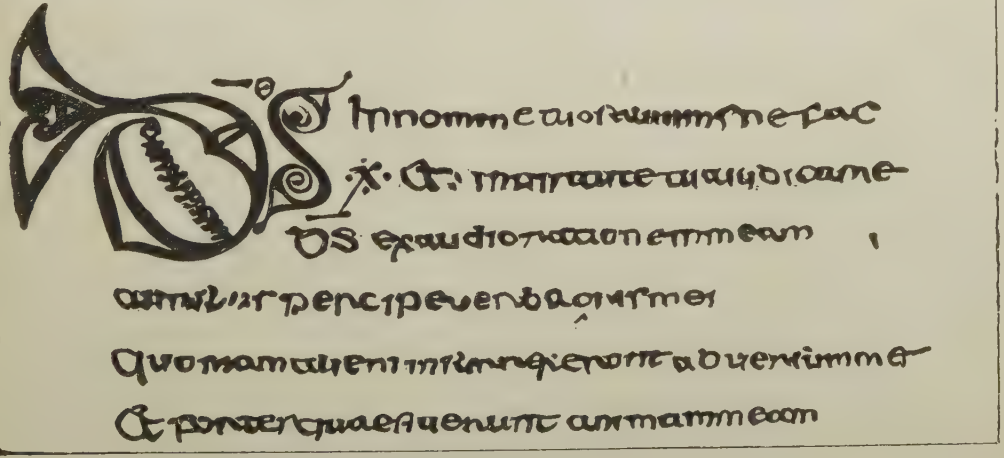
In Ireland a whole cycle of educational and religious forms was established at a time anterior to any similar work on the Continent. The general learning of the country was considered under three heads, namely, *Ecna*, or Philosophy; *Filidecht*, or Polite Learning; and *Fenechas*, or Professional Learning—particularly the law. It was under the head of

The three schools of Ecna, Filidecht, and Fenechas.

(A) MS. in the "*Domhnach Airgid*," [R.I.A.] (temp. St Patrick, circa A.D. 430.)



(B) MS. in the "*Cathach*," (6th century MS. attributed to St *Colum Cille*.)



Ecna that Christianity as a system was studied and taught by the early fathers of the Irish Church. Under the head of Filidecht the old Bardic literature of the Druids was revised and transformed and expanded into a course of study occupying no less than twelve years in its completion. It can but interest the reader to look back to the Ireland of the remote Middle Ages and consider for a moment the *Book of Ollaves*, in which the full curriculum of Filidecht was laid down. The first eight years of the period required for the accomplishment of the whole were devoted to the acquirement of the Irish language. It was expected that the pupil during this time should learn to read and write, should master the grammar of the Irish tongue, should study the laws of the privileged classes—another evidence of the prevalence of the principle of privilege in Celtic society.

Curriculum of the student in Filidecht.

The learner then took up poetry proper, which included not only the forms of metrical composition, but vaticination, and as much of natural science as was then possessed. Then came the elements of philosophical inquiry—historical topography, the learning of two hundred and seventy tales and a great number of poems, together with the secret language, the esoteric elements of the Bardic poesy. In the ninth and tenth years of the course the composition of poems was practiced. In the eleventh year one hundred original poetical compositions, fifty of the larger and fifty of the minor sort, must be produced as exercises; while in the twelfth year six orations must be composed, and at least four authors be practically studied in poetry and oratory.

The last two years of the course were regarded as professional. It was expected that they only would complete the full curriculum who were to become either literary men themselves or the teachers of literature to others. It was in this school of Filidecht that the Erse tongue was brought into a literary form before the same was done with any other vulgar language of Europe, with the possible exception of Mœso-Gothic.

Little known of the pre-Christian condition of the Celts.

The conditions which we here describe were all post-Christian. As to the ante-Christian achievement of the Celts in the west of Europe we are left in much doubt. It is even a disputed question whether the Celts were generally acquainted with the use of letters before the impact of Christianity. The testimony of Cæsar is that some of the Celts of Gaul knew writing, and that they employed a style of alphabet like the Greek. It may well be doubted whether in Western Gaul and Britain and Ireland writing was practiced at all until the introduction of the Latin orthography, brought by the Roman missionaries..

The Ogam style of writing; Latin alphabet substituted.

If we search for monumental evidence on this question we meet in Ireland and in parts of Wales certain rude stone monuments bearing inscriptions of the peculiar character called in the vernacular *Ogam*. It is known that this style of writing, if such it may be called, was practiced as late as the ninth and tenth centuries; that is, about five hundred years after Saint Patrick. The inscriptions consist of the combination of a number of long and short lines cut into the face of the stone. It is a style of record that was practiced only in a few localities, and the writings have furnished the subject-matter of much curious inquiry and controversy. It is sufficient to say that the use of the Latin alphabet soon supplanted the abo-

riginal style of writing, and that vellum was presently substituted for stone and tablets.

In this inquiry relative to the Celtic languages we are taking our station in Ireland because of the advantage which such a point of view gives of the linguistic and literary development of the whole race. Ancient Gaul, that is, the Gaul of the Celts, left nothing behind. It was only in the extreme west of Celtice that linguistic and literary traces of this great race of men may be discovered. For this reason our present discussion has little to present outside of the limits of Ireland, Cornwall, and Wales. It is, therefore, perhaps more consistent with the nature of the subject to pass at once to the consideration of the ethnic development of those six modern peoples who represent in their national life and institutional forms the ancient Celtic race.

Ireland furnishes advantages for study of Celtic mind.

CHAPTER LXXVI.—THE WELSH AND CORNISH.

THE six existing Celtic peoples are: for the Cymric, or British branch of the Celtic family, the Welsh, the inhabitants of Cornwall, and the Bretagnes, or people of Brittany; for the Gadhelic, or Gaelic, branch, the Highland Scotch, the Irish, and the people of the Isle of Man. We are here struck with the identity in number of the branches of the Celtic family with those of the Latin race, or, to rise higher, with the divisions of the Aryan family of men. It might well appear something fanciful that the Aryans should have divided into six families; that the Latin race in modern times should be represented by six ethnic divisions; and that the Celts in like manner should have six modern representatives. Such incidental coïncidences, however, have no significance whatever.

Classification of the six existing Celtic races.

The reader will already have apprehended the ethnic origin of the Welsh people. The country is known in the vernacular as Cumrie, meaning the Land of the Cymri, the ancient Latin Cambria. Wales is a peninsula on the west side of Great Britain. It requires but a single glance at the map to see in what manner the Celtic race was compressed by powerful ethnic forces into the insular and peninsular parts of Western Europe. Bretagne, which may be said to be the last continental foothold of the race, is the extreme peninsula of the Continent in this direction. Wales and Cornwall hold a like relation to England proper. The Highlands may be said to be the peninsula of North Britain, while Ireland, lying off to sea, interposes the barrier of water against the oppressors of the Celtic race.

Place and geographical relations of the Welsh.

We are indebted for our knowledge of the Welsh to two general sources of information. The first is through the classics. The Romans at the time of the invasion of Britain, and subsequently during their long occupation of the island, left many records from which some knowledge may be gained of the ancient inhabitants of Cambria. The other source is native; that is, from the

Poems of the Welsh a source of historical information.

Welsh themselves. Like the Irish and the Gael, the Cymri of West Britain had their bards and story-tellers, who preserved orally the traditions and lore of their race. About the beginning of the present century was published a work in three volumes, called the *Myvyrnian Archaiology of Wales*, containing the original texts of a great number of Welsh poems and other compositions. These had in their turn been derived from old manuscripts, going back to the Middle Ages. The first volume was made up of the ancient poems and songs of the Cambrian Celts; the second contained their chronicles and historical documents; and the third, the laws and moral treatises of the people. It is from these sources that our information respecting the ancient Welsh has been for the most part gathered.

OLD CELTIC TYPE—KING BRIAN BOROIHME.

If we turn to the Latin authorities, we find that at the time of the Roman invasion all this part of Britain was occupied by people of Celtic origin, divided into three tribes. The first of these were called the Ordovices, who occupied the northern part of modern Wales, adjacent to the Isle of Man. The second tribe were the Demetæ, in the western part; and the Silures, the third tribe, were scattered through central and southern parts of the country. The latter were the representative Cambrians, being more numerous and powerful than the other tribes.

The three principal tribes of the race.

Like other people of the hills, these Western Celts were exceedingly patriotic. They fought the Romans with the greatest valor. Caractacus, who was king of the Silures, resisted the enemy

for nine years. At last, overcome by Ostorius, and betrayed by Cartismandua, he was taken, and, with his wife and children, sent to Rome in

OLD WELSH TYPE.—OWEN GLENDOWER.
From his seal, engraved in the *Archæologia*.

chains. His appearance before the Emperor Claudius has been described by Tacitus, who also records the manly rather than defiant speech which he made in the presence of the emperor.

The Roman occupation of Britain did not much affect the race character of the Cambrian Celts. The people were not greatly assimilated, as were those of Southeastern Britain, to the Roman customs and forms of society. To a certain degree the Welsh tribes were modified by the Roman domination, but the Latin language and learning made little progress in the West. It was for these reasons that when the Roman standards were finally withdrawn from Britain, and the effeminated peoples of the eastern parts of the island were exposed to the rage, first of the Caledonian Picts, and presently to the still greater fury of the Angles and the Jutes, the Cambrians presented a bold front to the piratical invaders and maintained their independence. Perhaps the Saxons did not much care to continue their conquests in the western parts of the island. At all events, while they swept away the British race from those parts of the country which they invaded and conquered, the peoples of the mountain regions still preserved the Celtic stock. The conquests by the northern invaders in the fifth and sixth centuries were still another example of the driving ethnic force by which the Celts were compressed into the peninsular regions of the British islands.

Cambrian Celts little affected by the Roman conquest.

The circumstance which ultimately laid the foundation for the political, and to a certain extent the social, union of the Welsh with the Anglo-Saxons, was the introduction of Christianity. We have seen how Druidism found a refuge in this country, and it may not be doubted that the remains of the druidical faith were the inspiration of the Welsh in their long contentions with the Saxons. The Christian monks at length made their way to the extreme west of the island, and the Welsh, like the people of the heptarchy, became converts to the new religion. The conversion of the Welsh was more thorough than that of the Irish. This is to say that fewer of the old superstitions of the Druids were incorporated in the Christian faith and worship in Wales than were transmitted, by the consent of Saint Patrick and his followers, to the ritual, and

Fusion of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxons effected by Christianity.

ATHELSTAN'S RING.

especially the hymns, of the early Irish Church.

Contentions of the two races; union of Wales with England.

But though the island was Christianized, warfare continued to be the mood of the Welsh for several centuries. They were aggressive at times, and the central and eastern states often felt the impact of Welsh invasion. In the latter part of the eighth century King Offa of Mercia was obliged to build a dike from the Dee to the Wye as a defense against the Welsh. In 930 Athelstan, King of England, waged a successful war in Wales, and exacted a temporary tribute. In the times of Harold Harefoot the country was again subjected to the English power. But the first actual conquest of Wales was effected by William the Conqueror. Ever afterwards the country was claimed as a dependency of the English crown. Llewellyn ap Gryffyth obtained by treaty from Henry III the title of Prince of Wales, and by Edward I was summoned as a member of the Parliament of Westminster. But before he could serve in this capacity war broke out. Llewellyn and his brother David were slain. Wales was then united by an act of Edward I to England; but the title of Prince of Wales was conferred on Edward II, who had been born in Carnarvon Castle—a distinction which has ever since been borne by the heir apparent of the English crown.

WELSH CEMETERY.—Drawn by E. Grandsire.

Twice near the close of the thirteenth

century and once at the beginning of the fourteenth, rebellions broke out in Wales, all of which ended in disaster to the rebels and the execution of their leaders. The last of these movements occurred in 1400, when the famous Owen Glendower led his people in a hopeless struggle for independence. From this time forth for nearly a century and a half the Welsh remained in union with England, but under their own laws and usages. In the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry VIII the Welsh constitution was abolished, or at least conformed to that of England, and henceforth the relations of the two countries were those of a county to a parent state. It was found as late as the reigns of George IV and William IV, in our own century, that certain constitutional usages in Wales were still repugnant to English law, and statutes of conformity were accordingly added, by which the last traces of the ancient severance of the two peoples were obliterated. Social and commercial forces have in like manner tended to unite and consolidate the two.

Welsh rebellions and abolition of the constitution.

MINERS OF PONTYPOOL—TYPES.
Drawn by Durand Brager.

We deal here, however, with the development of the people. Wales is a country immemorially favored in its natural resources. Almost all the great minerals—excepting the precious metals—are abundantly distributed. In copper ore, galena, tin, iron, zinc, manganese, gypsum, and firestone, few countries of like area can equal or surpass Wales. The concomitant circum-

Extraordinary wealth of Wales in mineral deposits.

stances also are such as to favor mining and manufacture. Water is abundant. The coal beds are so distributed as to favor the feeding of blast furnaces in proximity with the metallic ores. From the earliest ages the mines were opened and worked. Primitive man found in these regions many of the materials of his rude beginnings. Some of the ancient gold mines in Merionethshire are still worked profitably. This region of Britain was one of the first occupied by the Celts on their western tour of Europe. Those ancient remains called cromlechs, which have been described in a former book, are abundant in this region, and many other signs of prehistoric occupation are seen in the country.

Ethnic characteristics of the Welsh race.

The characteristics of the Welsh people are sufficiently marked to distinguish them from the cognate races with which they are associated in the western and northern parts of the British islands. They have partaken in considerable degree of the physical characteristics of the Teutonic race which has been dominant in Great Britain for about fourteen centuries The Welsh are strong, hardy, courageous, energetic in industry, and devoted to their country. They have much of the enthusiasm and fire for which the Gallic race is proverbial, and have common sentiments and dispositions with their kinsmen of the other branches of the Celts. They are

CARNARVON CASTLE.—Drawn by Charles Stuart.

of superior physical strength, muscular, vehement in action and in appetite. It is likely that their vocation as miners and manufacturers has contributed to the roughness—we might say coarseness—of the Welsh character as it displays itself in modern times. The people are more dark complexioned, the Celtic type of countenance is less universal, the English people in all parts of the island.

In touching upon the intellectual character and attainments of the Welsh —they being the first modern Celtic peoples of whom we have had occasion to speak—we come to a large ethnological problem, namely, the relative rank

Relative rank of the Celtic mind in modern society.

NATIVE COSTUMES OF THE WELSH.—Drawn by E. Grandsire.

the head broader and rounder than among the Irish and the Gaelic Scotch. It can hardly be doubted that the British climate has had an influence in producing the present Welsh type. The country is exceedingly humid. The annual rainfall is more than forty-five inches, and the other elementary conditions are similar to those which have influenced the physical characteristics of of the Celtic mind in the structure of modern society. Celtic blood has entered largely into the constitution of every considerable people in the western parts of Europe and in America. We have seen how in France and Spain a considerable substratum always remained of the ancient stock out of whose copious loins these countries had been peopled before the days of Cæsar. Great Britain

and Ireland were preëminently Celtic. By the conquests of other peoples, by the superposition of other races, the Celtic element was nearly everywhere subordinated, absorbed, amalgamated with the predominant nations. Celticism may be said thus to have come up after the manner of an undergrowth in the meadow through all the imported grasses and grains that were sown in these regions. Sometimes the union of bloods was productive of great intellectual energy. This has been true in France. The Gallic touch in the French nature has given it that quick versatility for which it is proverbial. But in those regions where Celtic influence still remained predominant and grew into what may be called a native development, the result has been less favorable.

On the whole, the Celtic intellect in the west of Europe has not exhibited its powers in a degree comparable with the genius of the competitive races. In some particulars the intellect of the Celt has been coëqual, if not preëminent. Its quickness and wit can not be doubted. Its enthusiasm and zeal in a cause have always been conspicuous elements of mental character. We might say that those intellectual qualities which go to constitute the orator and the lyric poet have presented themselves in full force among the Celtic peoples. But the race has shown little political skill and still less

Comparisons of the Celtic and Teutonic intellect.

PENARTH, FROM CARDIFF.—From *Magazine of Art.*

of that scientific disposition which has done so much to give form and fashion to the achievements of modern times. The Celtic mind has been wedded to the traditions of the past; has not shown the progressive and aggressive force of the Teutonic intellect in entering into new conditions and in laying the foundations of new social and civil structures. It is from this point of view that the Welsh mind must be judged and estimated. It has kept pace, perhaps, in a general way with the Irish intellect, but not with the intellect of England and the Continent.

WELSH FISHWOMEN—TYPES.—Drawn by Durand Brager.

In the Middle Ages a considerable body of literature was produced by the Celtic bards of Wales. Several names of literary heroes belonging to a very early age have been preserved. Of these, the most famous were Gildas and Nennius. Both of these sons of the morning understood Latin, and wrote in that language as well as in their vernacular. Gildas was the son of the British king of Dumbarton, anciently called Ailclyd. He flourished from the first to the third quarter of the sixth century. He was the primitive Welsh historian, and was much referred to and quoted by subsequent British authors from Bede the Venerable to Hall and Fabian. Nennius was also a historian, producing what is known as the *Historia Britonum*, full of legends, stories of the colonization of Britain and Ireland, the

Welsh authors and literature of the Middle Ages.

exploits of Arthur, and the birth and prophecies of Merlin. It was out of the works of Gildas and Nennius that Geoffrey of Monmouth composed his *History of Britain*. Much also of the material of the *Myvyrnian Archaiology*, to which we have already referred, was deduced from the same source.

WELSH BUILDING—HOUSE OF IOLO MORGANWG.
Drawn by E. Grandsire.

If we turn to the primitive poems of the Welsh, we find perhaps the original form of those peculiar compositions called the *Triad*. It is probable that this form of poetry so far as it appears in Irish is an imitation of the Welsh. The triad was a metrical arrangement of similar thoughts, events, or topics which might be easily memorized from their association. It may hardly be doubted that the style was invented by the Druids as a method of preserving orally their lore and ritual. It is worth while to illustrate the form of the triad, exhibiting the primitive aspect of poetical activity among the Welsh. These songs were arranged in series of three, thus:

Metrical compositions in the triad form.

> Three are the ornaments of a hamlet:
> A book;
> A teacher versed in song;
> A smith in his smithy.
>
> Three are the punishments for theft:
> The first is the prison;
> The second is cutting off a limb;
> The third is the gallows.

Ever and anon the student in ethnology may catch a glimpse of the remote kinship of men in the ancient world. The triad verse of the Welsh can but bring to mind the styles of composition which were prevalent in the Orient. Shem and Ham have both seen this style. There was much of it in the Hebrew Psalms, and some in Al Koran. It will be remembered that this Eastern kinship, as we have already pointed out, held more strongly in the countries of the Cymric Celts of Wales and Cornwall than of the Gallic Celts of the Continent.

Ethnic hints in the Welsh poetry; its subject-matter.

If we look at the subject-matter of the Welsh poems, we shall find it to have been derived from many sources. Events of the Roman supremacy in Britain, of the Mercian and Cumbrian wars, of the alleged Irish invasion and conquest of Wales and Cornwall, of the Norsemen, and other matters of the heroic epoch are the themes of the Bardic literature. There was also a style of poetry in proverbs, certain religious poems, and a few efforts at the epic. All of this, however, stopped short of a complete development. The political and social domination of the English throughout the island absorbed the larger part of Welsh genius, and overshadowed the rest. Doubtless the language is in process of extinction, as the Celtic race itself seems to be, not only in the British islands, but as an ethnologic fact in the world.

Situation of Cornwall; the Cornish fisheries.

Cornwall is more distinctly peninsular than Wales. Like the latter country, it is one of the last seats of the Celtic race. It shares with all the western parts of England the wealth of mineral deposit and other natural advantages as a primitive home of mankind. The fisheries of these coasts are as old as the human race in the west of Europe. Along the Cornish banks the pilchards have thronged from ages immemorial. There is, perhaps, no richer fishery in the world, at least in its single product. Twelve million pilchards have here been taken in a single day. The yield has sometimes reached forty thousand hogsheads in one season. No doubt the old Cymric Celts who thronged these banks before the ascendency of the Roman race in Italy derived a large part of their subsistence from the shoals of fish which darkened the waters along the coast.

CORNISH MINERS OF WHEAL MARGEN—TYPES.
Drawn by Durand Brager.

Myth and tradition of the Cassiterides.

One of the principal traditions that hovered along the dawn of history in Western Europe was that of the Tin islands, or Cassiterides. There can be little doubt that the reference is to Cornwall and Devonshire. Here it was that the Phœnicians and Carthaginian traders came by water at a very early date, and procured their supply of tin for the commerce of the Mediterranean. It has been conjectured that there was also an overland route of

trade across Gaul, by which the product of the Cornish tin mines was carried to the south. The existence of this fine tin ore was one of the circumstances which drew the Roman legions in the direction of Britain; and after the conquest of the island, the mines were extended and worked by the Romans.

At this time the country was in possession of two Celtic tribes called the Cymri and the Damnonii. But the peninsula had already been occupied for ages. No other part of England, or perhaps of all the western coast of Europe, so abounds in memorials of the prehistoric times. The cromlechs, which in Cornwall are called *quoits*,[1] are scattered through all parts of the country. Many of them are still standing, with little disturbance, in the position which they occupied before the invasion of the Romans. There are also many uninscribed monoliths in the country, and what are called "Circles" are found here and there. But the latter are not of great size, like the similar remains at Stonehenge and Carnac. In some parts of Cornwall are avenues of stone, like those at Dartmoor. The most remarkable remains of this sort are those of St. Columba, known as the Nine Maidens. Nine monolithic pillars are set up in a line, while a short distance away is a still greater, called the Old Man. There are also certain subterranean structures, chiefly in caverns, similar to the underground abodes in Scotland and Ireland. Near Falmouth there are certain cliff castles on the coast; and in the interior of the country hill castles, or camps, are numerous. In every kind of Western antiquity the country abounds to an unusual degree. It has been observed, however, that the evidences of the Roman occupation, away from the mines, are but indistinct.

Tribal divisions; antiquarian remains in Cornwall.

ENTRANCE TO FALMOUTH.

Scholars in language have been permitted within the present century to stand by the deathbed of a human speech, to watch its expiring after the manner which has no doubt been hundreds of times repeated in other quarters of the world. A century ago *Cornish* was still a spoken language, being a variety of Cymric, and having for its cognate dialects Welsh and Armorican. But it was observed near the close of

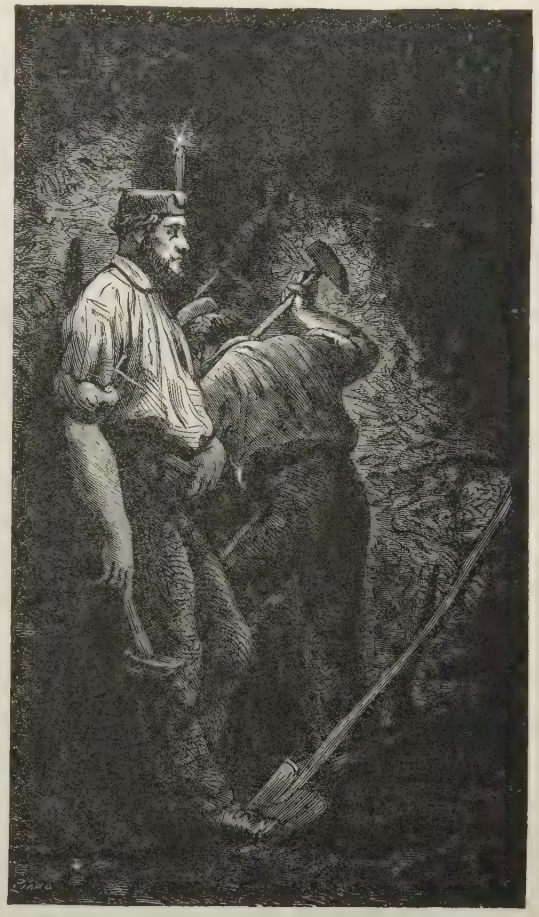
Decadence and extinction of the Cornish language.

[1] From the quoit-like shape of the great stones lying on top of the cromlech pillars.

the last century that fewer and fewer of the natives of the country, however pure in lineal descent and family relationships, could speak the vernacular. The process was precisely analogous to that which we now see going on in Ireland and even in Wales. The schools of the country were in English, and all civil, social, and political advantage lay in the direction of acquiring that language. At the end of the century only a few persons remained who could speak Cornish. There is a half-apochryphal story to the effect that an old woman was found in the early years of the present century who still knew the vernacular, and that she was the last solitary possessor of the old speech of the race to which she belonged. In the fishing regions a considerable portion of the vocabulary of Cornish has been retained in the folk speech of the fishermen; but the language as such has perished. English has taken its place throughout the peninsula, and the Cornish tongue is as much a thing of the past as the cromlechs and dolmens of the druidical ages.

The immense mineral wealth of Cornwall and Wales laid the foundation for the industries of those countries. From the earliest times mining and those forms of manufacture which lie near thereto have occupied and exercised the talents of the people. As the result of long practice, skill has been acquired in an extraordinary degree. Within the present century, however, the deposits have diminished both in quantity and quality, under the incessant draft made upon them through so many ages. This fact has left in the markets of the world an overplus of Cornish and Welsh mining labor, and other nations have drawn largely upon this source of supply. The miners of Cornwall are noted for their intelligence and independence. It is alleged by those curious in such researches that almost every discovery and new application of skill to the work of mining and associated branches of industry has been made by natives of Cornwall. Emigration has carried this peculiar talent into strange regions, and nearly all countries have become indebted, in the opening of their mines and associated manufactures, to the genius and industry of Cornish workmen.

The miners of Cornwall and Wales noted for intelligence.



WORKMEN OF PROVIDENCE MINES, CORNWALL—TYPES.
Drawn by Durand Brager.

From time immemorial tin has been a sort of beginning for all Cornish enterprise. For centuries together the earls and dukes of Cornwall were supported by a

revenue derived from a tin tax. All of the metal taken from the mines had to be carried to certain depositsand there stamped before the product might be marketed. Not until 1838 was this internal tariff removed by Act of Parliament. The ancient jurisprudence was nearly all associated with the production of tin. All cases in judicature, except those affecting land, life, and personal injury, were heard and decided in what were called *Stannary Courts*. These were organized as a special branch of justice among tinners, and there was no other jurisdiction for offenses. The origin of the courts is lost in the mist of antiquity. The twenty-four judges were elected from the different parts of Cornwall. Their meeting was as much a parliament as it was a tribunal. They chose their own speaker. In ancient times the meeting of this Cornish high court was in the open air, on Hingston Down, a highland on the river Tamar. The court continued in its relation to the public administration of justice until 1752.

Cornish society established on the tin product of the country.

CHAPTER LXXVII.—THE BRETONS AND GAEL.

OVER against the southern part of England is the continental peninsula of Bretagne. To this region the ancients gave the name of Armorica. It is believed that the word is made up of *ar*, meaning "near," and *mor* "the sea," and that it was first applied to the Armorici to designate them as a maritime people. In its monuments and inhabitants Bretagne is one of the most primitive regions in all Western Europe. It abounds in what are called megalithic, or great stone, ruins, and it is said that these to the present day exercise a strong influence over the minds of the people.

If we look back to the earliest times to which the word historical may be applied with any propriety, we find the Armorican peninsula inhabited by the same race with Britain. Cæsar, referring in general terms to these peoples, declared that they differed "not much" from the continental Gauls. Before the Christian era intercourse was already common between the Armoricans and the British Celts. They felt themselves to be kinsmen, spoke dialects of a common language. Only a narrow sea interposed between them. It is in evidence that as early as the fourth century fleets of ships passed back and forth in friendly intercourse between the two peoples. It was owing to this easy communication that when, in the fifth century, the northern barbarians made their great eruption into England, the British Celts adopted the plan of colonizing their fugitives in Armorica as a means of evading the fury of the Jutes. To this circumstance the name of *Bretagne*, which is now substituted for that of Armorica, is attributed. At all events the British race, the Cymri, became predominant, and their descendants still occupy, as in ancient times, this projecting part of Western France.

Primitive conditions of the Armorican peninsula.

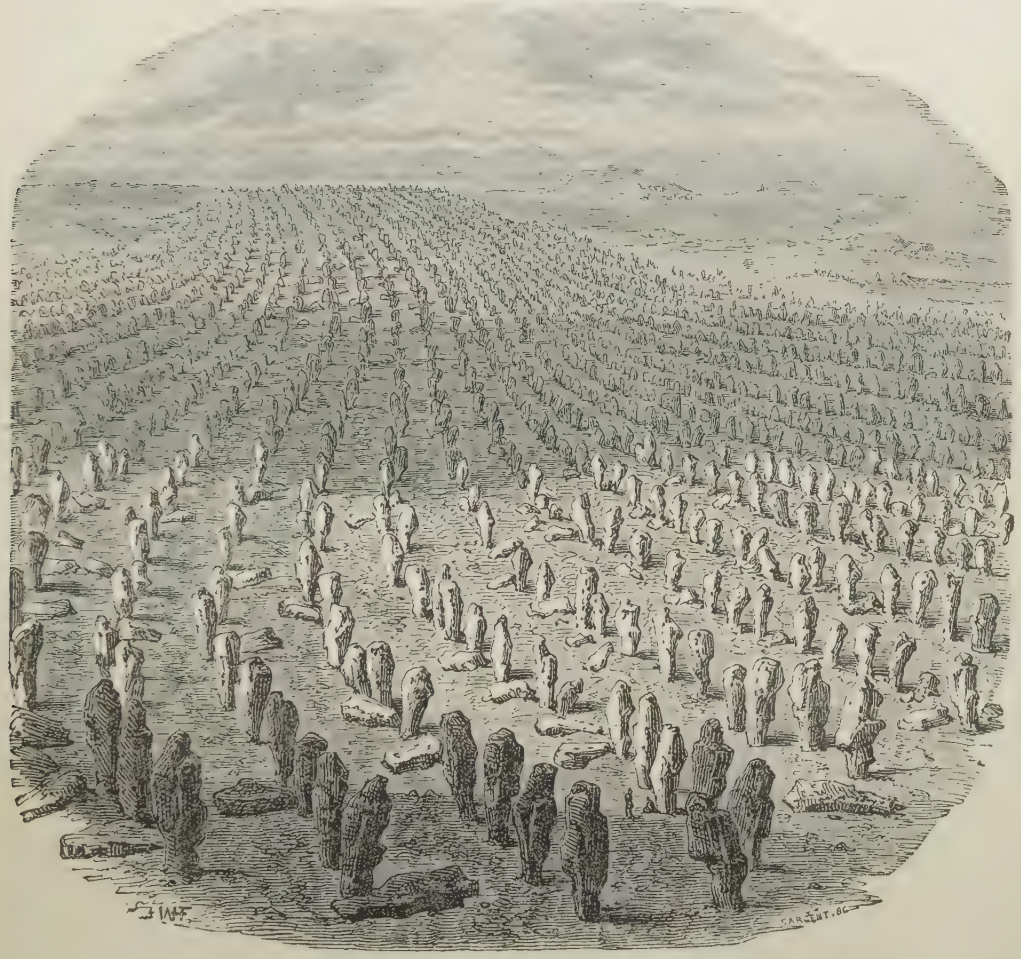
In these circumstances we may well discover the explanation of what has been regarded as a historical anomaly, namely, the segregation of the Bretons

from the common destinies of France. The people have been apart—dissociated from the French in almost every epoch of development. The modern Bretons are the most conservative as well as the most primitive of all the peoples of the continent of Europe. They have

Segregation of the Bretons from the French.

Bee culture is one of the favorite pursuits of the Bretons, and the dairy yields an important part of the food of the people. The industries have scarcely advanced beyond the simplest forms. The people are strong in their local attachments, and superstition is as prev-

Industries and means of subsistence.



RUINS OF MEGALITHIC AVENUES AT CARNAC, BRETAGNE.

retained their ancient maxims, their manners and customs, and their beliefs almost unimpaired since the first centuries of the Christian era. Even agriculture has never progressed into the new conditions upon which it is based in all the other parts of Europe and the New World.

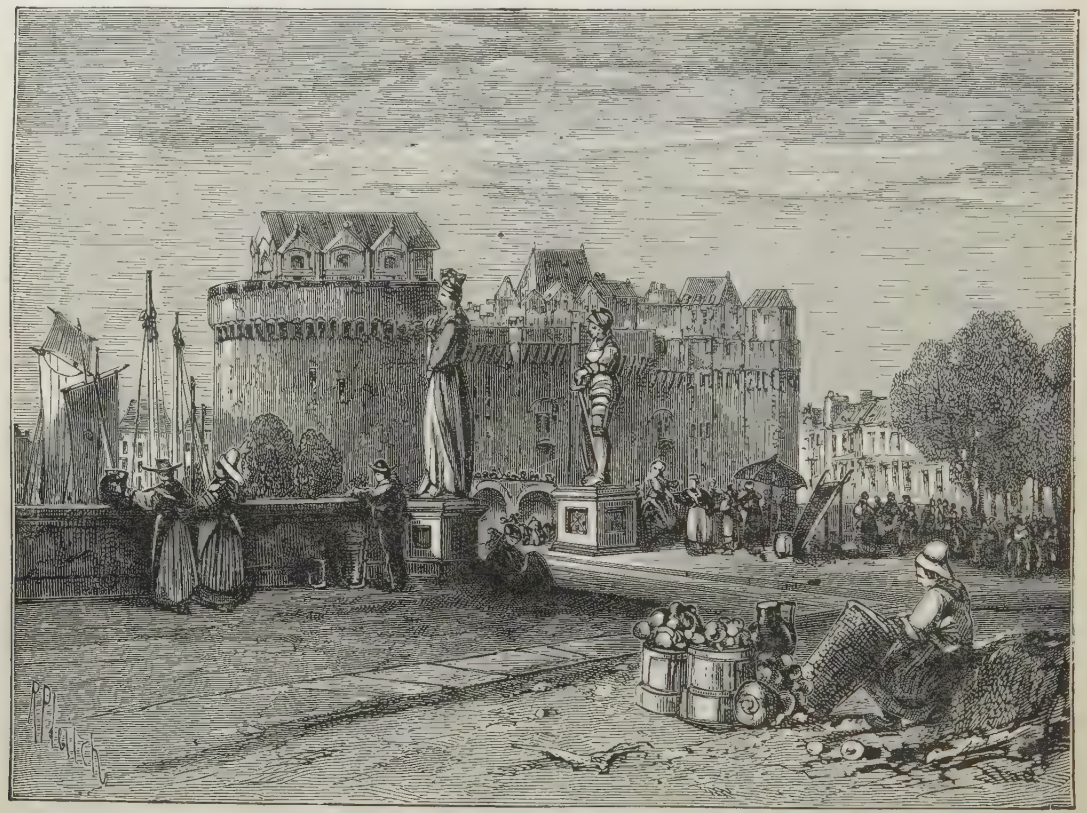
alent as in the Dark Ages. Paganism was not abolished until the seventeenth century, and even then a large part of the old beliefs and practices of heathenism were incorporated with the popular Christianity, as it is to-day. Bretagne has been the native seat of witchcraft, delusions, and similar evils; and it is

currently believed by the peasants that fairies and sprites are abroad among the people.

All of this can be explained by following simply the ethnic lines along which this strange race has proceeded to its destination. We have already seen how strenuously Druidism in Britain opposed itself to Roman rule; how it receded into the forests and maintained itself until it finally gave way before the assaults of the Christian missionaries. At the time of the conquest of the island by the Angles and Jutes, the old superstition still held fast in large parts of the country. We may readily see that those who were most attached to the ancient system, defeated and driven from their homes, would be they who would most gladly escape from the northern barbarians and emigrate into Bretagne. They carried thither with them the pagan practices in all their vehement vigor, and the Celts of Armorica were thus revived in their old-time habits and beliefs.

Reasons for the isolation of the Breton race.

In Bretagne, as well as in Cornwall and Wales, we find some additional evidences of an ethnic connection between these countries and the East. The habits



VIEW IN NANTES, ON THE LOIRE.—Drawn by R. Pleitch.

of the people in the interior are almost Oriental in their simplicity. The styles of dress suggest the East. The people are fond of high colors. Bright red, violet, and blue are sought after by both men and women. The styles of the garments also are foreign to those adopted by most of the peasant class of Europe. The slight discrimination between the garments of the men and

Touches of Oriental character among the Bretons.

the women also shows a sympathy with the Eastern countries. The tradition of commercial intercourse between the Carthaginians, the Phœnecians, the Tyrians on the one side and the aboriginal Celtic nations in the maritime districts of Western Europe on the other, has many historical and ethnic evidences that may not be disregarded.

Local attachments lead to the preservation of ethnic traits.

In no other fact is the local attachment —call it patriotism, if we will—of the Celts as an ethnic instinct more clearly seen than in their dialects. Where the habits of a people are interfusive; where commercial and social relations draw constantly the population from side to side; where the avocations of travel and enterprise lead to the constant transplanting of family interests, a given people will be equalized in all its attributes; things common will prevail from boundary to boundary; customs, languages, laws, all forms, civil and political, will have a common type throughout the region. But where the spirit of locality is triumphant a different aspect will prevail. Each neighborhood will take on its local peculiarities. The manners and customs of one district soon begin to differ from those of another. We have had occasion, in speaking of the primitive Greeks, to note the growth of multifarious dialects throughout the peninsula. The same thing reäppears among the Celts in the West.

Dialectical differences also indicate segregation of race.

Having been driven by ethnic forces into the extreme parts of Europe, and seeing even at an early age the impracticability of going further or of seeking any other seats than those which they now occupy, the Celtic tribes fixed themselves in their various localities with great tenacity. This is shown in the development of dialectical differences which have prevailed to the present day. In Cornwall there were before the extinction of the language two or three dialects. In Wales the brogue of one neighborhood differs from that of another. Among the Bretons, whom we are now considering, there are at least four local dialects clearly marked. The language, moreover, considered as a whole, has preserved the peculiarities of

BRETON TYPES.

the original Celtic tongue such as it was in the times of the Roman conquest. It is a heavy, coarse, guttural speech; vehement, strong in consonants, rapid in utterance, totally unlike the urbanity and vocalic roundness of most of the great languages of Europe.

Breton literature appears in the Bardic triads.

The Breton literature is similar in spirit and form to that of Wales. There can be but little doubt that in all the Celtic islands and peninsulas of Western Europe the growth of literary forms passed through the same stages and pre-

sented the same phenomena. In connection with the Cymric of Wales, we have spoken of the half-Semitic characteristic of the *Triad* as a form of composition. The same thing reäppears in the poetry of the Bretons. The style is a kind of threefold elaboration about a given idea. Even the form of verse is generally limited to three lines. It is an old Bardic type of composition, which is, perhaps, as ancient as the druidical ascendency in the west of Europe. The

From the forest green a roe,
Or a woodcock from where, I trow,
The pond in the vale lies low?

For venison am I fain,
But would not give thee pain
For me the wood to gain."

Turning to the Gaelic division of the modern Celts, we next note the development of the Highland Scotch. Many interesting ethnological problems lie in the region north of the Forth and the Clyde.

Possible connection of the Gael with the Basques.

BRETON MANNERS AND COSTUMES.

following introductory stanzas, from a poem entitled *Lord Nann*, belong to the fifth century, and illustrate even in translation the characteristic form of the Breton poetry:

"Lord Nann and his bride, both plighted
In youthful days, soon blighted,
Were early disunited.

Of snow-white twins a pair
Yestreen the lady bare,
A son and daughter fair.

What cheer shall I get for thee,
Who givest a son to me?
Say, sweet, what shall it be?

It is in evidence that when the Celtic tribes passed over into this region from the Continent, they found the country already occupied by a people who are supposed to have been the kinsmen of those problematical Basques whom we have already noticed on the two sides of the Pyrenees. Conjecturally we may see in this hypothesis the bridge over which the Oriental elements in the Celtic race of Western Europe passed. If the Basques were out of Africa and ultimately from the East, and if the people

antedating the Celts in North Britain were an offshoot from the Basques, we may easily see how Oriental blood and traces of Eastern usages might appear in many districts of the West.

Another interesting subject is the succession of Celtic nations in the northern parts of the British islands.

DONEGAL CASTLE, IRELAND.

Place of the Picti in the ethnic scheme of the Celts.

It appears that the Picti were first, while the Scots came afterwards. The Roman writers always mentioned the races in this order. It is succinctly stated that the name Picti was given to these barbarians because they painted their bodies. Ethnologists have decided that the Picts were the intermediate link between the Gaelic and the Cymric branches of the insular Celts. It is believed that they were very close in their ethnic affinities with the tribes of Wales and Cornwall, being, perhaps, almost as nearly allied with them as they were with the Irish. But there is no doubt that the Picts, in whatever order they came, were a Celtic nation. So, also, were the Scots, who became in course of time the predominant people in the north, and ultimately gave the name of Gael to all the tribes of the Highlands.

It was this Gaelic race thus planted in the north of Britain that spread into Ireland. Their language, the Gadhelic, and the Erse are manifestly on the same

stem. Tradition also has preserved the evidence of a community of race between the Gael and the Irish. At the time of the Roman invasion, the national division into Picts and Scots was still preserved. In the days of Bede the Venerable, as late as the beginning of the eighth century, the ethnic division of the people was fivefold, namely, Angles, Bretons, Scots, Picts, and Latins, each preserving their own language and institutions. In the course of time, however, the Scots, or Gael proper, predominated over the other races of the north, and gave consistency and name to the whole.

Race conditions present in the north of Britain.

Perhaps we should at this point stop to consider briefly the general fact of the conversion of the Celtic nations to Christianity. This work was accomplished by a number of saintly missionaries who went into these western parts from the Continent. Each of the Celtic countries —Scotland, Wales, Ireland—has its patron saint or saints who are to the present time venerated as the fathers of the Church. Those of Scotland were three in number, Ninian, Kentigern, and Columba. The first was the son of a British chief in Galway, who had been converted to Christianity and had transmitted the new faith to his son. After receiving an education at Rome he made his way among the Picts, and spread the new doctrine by preaching to the natives in the country south of the Grampian hills. Kentigern flourished at the close of the sixth and the beginning of the seventh century. He is more popularly known by his title of Saint Mungo, and is called the Apostle of Strathclyde. He was said to have been the son of a nun and of a pagan king. In his youth he made his way to Glasgow. He became a convert to Christianity and then a missionary. He journeyed into South Wales, and founded there a monastery, afterwards known as Saint Asaph's. It is to his evangelical labors that the conversion of the Cumbrians is attributed.

The Three Saints of Scotland convert the British Celts.

Saint Columba was an Irishman by birth, and was, according to tradition, born in 521, in Donegal. His rank as a saint and evangelist is higher than that of Ninian and Kentigern. His descent was from the old princely families of Ireland. At an early age he embraced the monastic life in his native island, and when about forty years of age passed over with a company of disciples into Scotland. He became the evangel of the Scots, and then journeyed among the Picts, to whose conversion he gave his most strenuous endeavors. Great was his reputation for holiness and devotion to the cause. His fame as the founder of Christianity, not only among the Scots, but also among the Picts, increased to the end of his life, and afterwards he became preëminently the patron saint of the Gallic race. He was the founder of the monastery of Iona, on the island of Skye, which he received from the Scottish king. This institution was regarded as the mother of all the subsequent ecclesiastical establishments among the peoples of the north.

Story of Saint Columba and his work.

The conversion of the Scots and Picts was in the missionary manner; and the early Scotch Church was a missionary rather than a diocesan institution. The work was accomplished from the monasteries. The monkish life was in great fame among the Celtic barbarians. The model established by Columba was followed by his successors. Other mon-

The Celts Christianized by the agency of the monks.

asteries were established, generally on islands which were protected by their situation from violence and well adapted to that system of mystic contemplation to which the monks gave themselves. These institutions were the seats of the primitive learning. There was much independence among them. Each had its own rule and confession and faith. Each required implicit obedience to its own superior, enjoining poverty, chastity, hospitality, as its chief precepts. In course of time this work was recognized abroad. The bishops of Scotland began to appear in the councils of the Church, and the authority of Rome was more definitely extended over North Britain.

BARMOUTH ESTUARY.—Drawn by Charles Stuart.

It was in the ages which we are here considering that the Celtic race, viewed as a whole, was driven, by historical, ethnical, and geographical conditions, into those final seats which it has ever since occupied and from which it can not be pushed further without extinction. The Celts had fluctuated over the greater part of Europe. We have, in parts of the first volume, noted the vast excursions of the Celtic peoples westward, southward, backwards across Europe, and into Asia Minor. There is a contrast in this respect between the destiny of the race and that of the Greeks and Romans. The latter, at a very early day, fixed themselves in the peninsulas of Southern Europe, and there ran their entire career. The circumstances which forced the Celts into these ultimate regions next the Atlantic were closely related with the barbarian conquests which extended from the fifth to the ninth century of our era. The spread of the Roman power had already prepared the way for what the barbarians were to effect in thrusting the Celts into the remote maritime and insular positions which they have ever since occupied.

The Celtic race pressed into ultima thule.

The situation which these peoples took under the impact of the Germanic invaders—one branch in the Highlands of Scotland, another in Ireland, another in Wales, and still others in Cornwall and Bretagne—was of a kind to exercise a double influence on the subsequent history of the race. It tended to preserve the ethnic purity of the Celtic people, and to present them in modern times as the best example in all the West of a

Advantage and hurt of the ethnic pressure.

pure race of men. But at the same time the localization of the Celts in the mountains and maritime parts of Northwestern Europe prevented the salutary reactions which come of contact with other peoples and of the absorption of their blood. A great many invidious comparisons have been drawn between the Celtic peoples of modern times and the contemporaneous European nations. Such comparative treatment should always be considerately presented. It may be freely admitted that the isolation of the Celts in Scotland, Ireland, Wales, and Cornwall has hindered their development, and has perpetuated the ancient superstitions under which the pagan peoples of antiquity toiled toward the light.

The Celtic mind is to-day less emancipated, on the whole, from the thraldom of the Dark Ages than any other in Western Europe. It is more difficult to stir up the race, to excite it with the infusion of new ideas, to inspire it with hopes and visions of great achievement and a splendid future, than in the case of the Teutonic and the Latin peoples of the modern epoch. These are the conditions which have held fast the Celts in a bondage which they themselves do not understand, and which they seem impotent to break. It is the simple preference of the past to the future. There is more of the backward look, the backward adoration, in the Celtic peoples than in any of the other nations who

Celtic intellect unemancipated; the race best abroad.

IRISH TYPES.—A Poor Customer.—From the painting by H. Helmick.

are contributing the intellectual forces by which the world is at present controlled. To a great extent the Scotch and Irish peoples have diffused themselves in foreign parts, especially in the New World. They are more potent by the influences which they have shed abroad, and by the amalgamation of their blood and life with that of Western Europe and America, than they are in their own seats of centralization.

THE ROMAN WALL AT DORCHESTER.

Ethnic place and relations of the Lowlanders.

The Saxon conquest of Britain extended only to a certain limit northward. It happened thus that a threefold aspect was given to the ethnic life of England. In the north were the Gaelic Highlanders. Below the Grampians, to the Roman wall, were the Lowlanders, or Scotch Saxons; while south of this, through the rest of the island, were the British Saxons proper. It appears that in the middle country, the Lowlands, an intermediate type of character was formed. The Gael of the north looked upon it as Saxon, while the people of the south regarded it as Scotch. This country became the battle ground between two races. The student of history will perceive the reasons of the perpetual warfare and contention which existed in the border country—a conflict which has not yet entirely passed from the memories of men.

It has remained for the Gael of Scotland to preserve to modern times a form of social organization which was greatly prevalent in the ancient world. We have had occasion in another place to comment upon the various forms of social unit which different peoples have adopted, and have said something of the *clan* as an example. It is in Scotland and in some parts of Ireland that the clan has survived as an element of modern society. The word is of Gaelic origin, and signifies *seed*, in the sense of children, or descendants. The system has its points of difference from every other form of organization which men have adopted. It is based upon the idea that groups of kindred may be associated in a common government, under a chieftainship. It is related with certain peculiarities of land tenure. We have seen how a tribe is constituted, how people who were perhaps of a common blood, diverging into different families, have held together under that loose organization which was the condition of society in the times of the migrations.

The clan preserved to modern times by the Scottish Gael.

CLAN WARFARE.—Bruce Addressing his Troops Before the Battle of Bannockburn.

In course of time the tribal organization was broken up by conquest and other forces in the larger parts of Europe. When this occurred, he who had been the head of the tribe or of some particular group of families gathered to himself his blood relatives, and gave to them his own name as a common designation for all the kindred. Many cognomens have thus been introduced to designate the various clans in Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. In the first named country the syllable *Mac*, meaning "son," was added to the clan name, giving thereto a patronymic sense. In Ireland the syllable *O'*, from the Celtic *Ua*, meaning "grandson," was used in the like manner. All of the kindred who bore the clan name were called *Mac* or *O'*, with the patronymic affixed. Thus Mac Carthaigh, meaning son of Cartach, became MacCarthy. Thus were formed the clan names, the Macdonalds, the Macgregors, the Mackinnons, the Macnabs, the Macphies, the Macquarries, the Macaulays, etc.

The Highland chieftain; evolution of patronymics.

Historically considered, the clan continued to be the prevailing organization in the Highlands of Scotland until the middle of the last century. It constituted that turbulent and dangerous element in the mountainous regions with which England had to contend for centuries. It was the clansmen who could never be weaned from their sympathies and loyalty to the house of Stuart. They it was who, as late as 1745, supported the last formidable effort for the restoration of that house to the throne of England. Immediately after the suppression of the rebellion, Parliament took steps to destroy the system which had so long menaced the authority of the English crown in the north. Many severe laws were passed with a view to breaking up the clans and forcing their elements into harmony with the other parts of British society. These statutory measures went so far as to attack the national costume. But it was presently found that such irrational proceedings tended rather to perpetuate the animosity of the clansmen than to win them from their old manner of life.

Turbulence and loyalty of the Gaelic mountaineers.

If we look at the constitution of the clan, we find at its head the *Rig*, or chieftain. The word is the same as the Latin *rex* and the Norse *rikir*, meaning "king." The chieftain was supported by the clan. Each clan had a portion of the old tribe lands. The arable part was tilled in common. The pasture lands received the flocks of the different families in a common herd which grazed together. The uncultivated part, consisting of woods, bogs, mountains, etc., belonged to the clan in common. Most of the members of the clan gathered in a village, where each family possessed its own personal property, but had other things in common. The head of each homestead was known by his Gaelic title of *Aire*. It is believed by those who have looked profoundly into the ultimate conditions of civilization, that this clan system was a form of the human evolution through which nearly all the peoples of Aryan blood in Asia and Europe have passed on their way from the simple household unit to nationality.

Position and support of the Rig and the Aire.

It was possible to hold land in severalty under the clan system. When a given estate had been held by an Aire and his family for three generations, the Aire became a *Flaith*, or lord. There were also a kind of lords of cattle as well as lords of realty. There was much gradation and many other features in common

Clan system of vassalage; life of the chief.

with that feudal system which held Europe for several centuries. Every member of the clan, without exception, owed loyalty to the rig, or chieftain. He was his *ciele*, or vassal. He must pay to him certain tributes in kind. A part of the flocks must be set aside for the rig. Military service must be rendered to him. When the clansman's bugle blew he must rally to the banner of his chief. He must also assist him in peace. He must aid in building his dune, or stronghold, which was the central fortress of the clan. As to the chieftain himself, his life was passed in foray and excursion, in warfare, in idleness. As to the sentiment which held the clan together, it was one of extreme loyalty and devotion. It is doubtful whether under any other system which men have devised to increase their individual strength the tie has been more indestructible than that which bound the clansmen to their chieftain and to each other.

Social and domestic usages of the clan.

The clan system was rich in forms and traditions. Each clansman must do homage three times a year to the chieftain. The service which he was bound to render might be commuted. Even the food-rent which he was expected to pay might be changed to some other form of service. The tie between the chieftain and his men was mutual. Under it all the family system, based on monogamy, was recognized and observed. Illegitimacy, however, was common, and was not a bar to the preferments which the clan was able to bestow. Even the chieftainship might descend to an illegitimate child, providing he had been recognized by his father. The chieftainship, however, was not strictly hereditary. There were many cases of disputed succession. These were sometimes decided by peaceful methods, but generally by war. The son's succession to his father's honors was dependent rather on his own merits and the assent of the clan than to the mere fact of his being the heir. Theoretically the chieftainship descended, with the death of the lord, to the clan; and it was the rule to honor the eldest or the most capable son with the distinction of chief. It was the custom in the Gaelic Highlands to select the successor to the headship of the clan during the life of the incumbent, to the end that disputes and battle might be avoided on the occasion of his death. Such a chieftain-elect was called the *Tanist*.

Principles of succession in the chieftainship.

It appears that great care was taken in choosing a successor to a chief. The clan paid considerable attention to the hereditary principle, preferring the eldest surviving son or brother of the preceding chieftain. But the candidate must have all the virtues which a half-civilized and wholly chivalrous age exacts in those who would be its leaders. He must be "the most experienced, the most noble, the most wealthy, the wisest, the most learned, the most truly popular, the most powerful to oppose, the most steadfast to sue for profits and for losses." It was also exacted in a Highland chieftain that he should have no personal blemishes and no deformities. He must be of manly age and in full power, to the end that the clan might be honored in its leader. In addition to the annual payment of tribute, whereby the chieftain and his family were supported, it was the custom to set apart a certain portion of the clan lands, and to make the same an appanage of the chieftain's office.

On the whole the clan life, such as it has presented itself in the Highlands of

Scotland, is one of the most picturesque, as it is certainly the most archaïc, forms of society transmitted to the modern world. Freedom and wild license were its characteristics. It has been related in all of its more striking developments with the mountainous region, to which it is as much fitted by nature as is the sequestered places. They retained rather than abolished or changed the natural conditions. The glen was the Highlander's natural retreat. It was a large part of the strength of the system to be able to fall back into covert, to hide in a place where no military pursuit could be made. To a certain extent roads were constructed through the Highlands; but

Manner of the clan life; the Highland glens.

BRITISH KING, EDGAR THE PACIFIC, WITH HIS TRIBUTARY CELTIC VASSALS.

character of the Swiss peasantry to the Alps. It was not in the nature of the clan to modify physical environment to any considerable degree. It may be said as a general fact that the Celtic peoples have not anywhere effected so great a transformation in the face of nature as have the Græco-Italic and Teutonic races. The clans of Scotland nestled in there was no system of highways, each clan preferring to construct its thoroughfares for itself, and to break, rather than to make, connection with the roads of other tribes. This condition was for a long time a bar to the English armies in their invasions of the north. It was not until after the insurrection of 1745 that any general system of thoroughfares was

carried by the English government into the Highlands.

National greatness impossible under the clan system.

Such a system as the clanship of Scotland and Ireland could never produce greatness, power, wealth. It represented on the other hand the broken-up condition of half-barbarous society. No great cities, no public enterprises, no vast display of human energy could be seen where everything was segregated, if not positively hostile. Among the Highland clans, such as they were in the seventeenth century, only two sources of wealth were known. These were, first, the contributions which were made by the cieles, or vassals, to the lords, or chieftains. Such contributions were generally in kind, that is, the vassal paid a certain food-rent to his superior, and received from him in return an allotment of stock, such as cattle drawn from the clan herd, and paid to the ciele for his service and allegiance. The other species of wealth was the slaves. Slavery was common in the Highlands of Scotland and in Ireland—indeed wherever the clan system prevailed.

Slave system under the clan organization.

The slave class was made up of the descendants of bondmen, of prisoners taken in war, of forfeited hostages, of refugees from other clans who had surrendered themselves to service, of broken-down clansmen no longer able to pay their food-rent to the rig, and in general, that motley and indescribable element of humankind which is always aggregated around the barbarian leader. Slaves were sold or bestowed as stipends and gifts by the chieftains and headmen of the tribe. The labor of the clans was generally performed by the bondpeople. Female slaves did the housework of the chiefs. They ground the meal with the handmill, and performed all of the heavy servile work peculiar to such situations. Slaves had an estimated value, based on the value of the *cow*, which was taken as a unit. The female slave had three times the value of the cow.

Character and manners of the Gael preserved in literature.

English romance and poetry has preserved to modern times the general character of the Scotch Gael. The Highlands had also a vernacular literature, similar to that which we have already noticed as the product of the Fili of Ireland. It is impossible to say precisely to what extent the traditional Gaelic ballads, which have furnished the subject-matter of so much controversy, are genuine, and to what extent they are the product of later fiction. But the Gaelic mind was not capable of a development into full literary activity. The literature of the Highlands has not made any considerable impression on the thought of the modern world. Gaelic influence, the Gaelic intellect, has to a considerable extent entered into combination with that of the English-speaking race, and has imparted thereto some of the ethnic qualities for which the Celts have been proverbial ever since the opening of the historical epoch. Otherwise, the influence of the latter race may be neglected in the history of the human intellect in modern times.

The Celtic mind subjected to mediæval superstitions.

Another circumstance also has prevented the Celtic mind from performing its legitimate part in the intellectual history of Western Europe and America. This is its subjection to superstition and its antagonism to the progress of scientific knowledge. It can not be fairly denied that the Gaelic mind has dreaded rather than admired the magnificent march of science and the consequent conquest of the natural world. It has

preferred rather to hug those delusions which it inherited from the ignorance of the Middle Ages, to deny the existence of physical laws and their beneficent uniformity, and to continue, as in the Dark Ages, to people the physical universe with mysterious agencies, with goblins and phantoms, born of fear and nurtured in the darkness of barbarism.

Analogy of the clan system to feudalism.

As we have said, there has been much in the outer life of the Scotch Gael in analogy with the conditions and aspects of feudalism. The Highland chieftain corresponded in many particulars to the feudal lord of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The clan, too, had the likeness of that group of dependents, villagers, and villains which constituted the feudal society. The situation in Scotland was very similar to that of a large part of Europe in the Middle Ages. The chieftain sought the same means of offense and defense which the barons had used before the epoch of the Crusades. The clan village was almost identical with the feudal village, and the castle of the chieftain had the same relation to the governed body, the same inaccessible position, the same structure and character as the baronial hall of the Middle Ages. One has only to study the character of Gaelic life and manners as depicted in the works of Scott, to perceive how close is the transcript from the mediæval condition.

Orthodoxy and conservatism of the Celtic race.

We have seen in considering the state of the Celtic race under paganism its persistency in old beliefs and practices. The extermination of Druidism was as difficult a task as ever Christianity had imposed upon it in the West. Religious superstitions are deep-rooted in the Celtic nature, and the indisposition to change is one of the most striking aspects of life among all peoples of this race. Christianity once accepted by the Celtic nations found in that soil a place of growth from which it could not be displaced by any agitation. We have noted the peculiar circumstances of the introduction of Christianity into Scotland. From the time of the establishment of the monastic system and the spread of the new faith the Gaelic mind began to pass under the dominion of the new faith, and to accept the Roman theocracy as its form of religious government.

The leaders of the Gaelic Church break with Rome.

For about nine centuries the Gaelic race remained in the communion of Rome. The circumstances of the Reformation, which broke out at the sixteenth century, by which the authority of the Catholic Church was completely broken in Scotland, are known to the student of history. The movement differed from the contemporaneous revolutions in Germany and England. It was the leaders of the Scotch Church who broke with the Roman hierarchy, and drew after them the whole body of the people. The Kirk was established on the ruins of the Cathedral, and it has been maintained with a zeal and devotion unparalleled in any other Protestant country. The Scotch became the most religious, the most zealous, the most persistent in their Protestantism of all the Western peoples who broke with the mother Church. The old ethnic devotion—not to say superstition—of the race asserted itself in the attachment and enthusiastic support which the Scotch people have, during the last three centuries, given to the Church of their choice. Their zeal, moreover, has been equaled by their resistance to all innovation and heresy. It were difficult to say in what material particular the Gaelic mind has been modified in its

religious dogmas and practices since the days of John Knox and the Scotch reformers.

Philosophers, historians, and ethnographers have pointed out several peculiarities of the Scotch mind, distinguishing it in its methods and activities from the intellect of the Teutonic and Latin peoples. It has been found that all the Scotch thinkers, with scarcely an exception, have fallen under the dominion of the scholastic and Aristotelian systems of thought. The great revolution in the method of inquiry which was effected by Bacon and his contemporaries, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, never penetrated the Celtic countries. The Gaelic mind in particular did not yield to the new philosophy, but

BEGINNINGS OF THE KIRK.—WORSHIP ON THE HILLSIDE.

Peculiar deductive instinct and method of the Scotch intellect.

TYPES AND MANNERS.—A Highland Funeral.—After the painting by James Guthrie.

held to the deductive system of inquiry which had swayed the intellect of Europe for nearly twenty centuries. As a result, the Scotch thinkers of the last two hundred years have devoted themselves almost exclusively to speculative inquiry. Whatever may be the subject-matter of the investigation, the Scotch mind has chosen invariably to consider it deductively, and to elaborate a system from principles and assumptions taken *à priori*. In the border country the Scotch school has been most conspicuous in its activities, and it can not be denied that from the vicinity of Edinburgh the larger part of the metaphysical philosophy of the last two centuries has emanated. It has all been characterized by the common feature of deduction and its inability to apply the inductive method of inquiry.

Syllogistic movement of Scotch mind illustrated.

It should be noted that in this region there has been a large interfusion of races. It is here that the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon bloods have flowed together; but it appears that the former has been dominant as it respects the character of the Scotch mind. While the intellect of Germany, of France, and of England has yielded freely to the new methods of inquiry, and has as a consequence gone forth to explore and interpret nature, neglecting the speculative for the actual conditions of the world, the Scotch mind, even in its highest moods, has continued to deal with those speculative and metaphysical inquiries which were the whole intellectual resource of the Middle Ages. It must ever remain a surprising thing in the intellectual history of mankind that the first great effort of the human mind to construct a system of political economy was made by Adam Smith on purely deductive principles. The *Wealth of Nations* is written from beginning to end with only such incidental references to the facts and actualities of production, exchange, distribution, and consumption as necessarily suggest themselves to the mind of the writer while carrying forward his assumptions and deductions in the speculative manner. The Scotch mind has always followed this method of investigation, assuming its principles, constructing its argument, and drawing its conclusions according to the principles of deduction, and with as little regard to the facts to which the argument is applied as though the thinker lived in an ideal universe, and as though the syllogism were more true —and more useful—than the law of gravitation.

Question of ethnic character of British intellect.

A fair estimate of the rank and character of the different races in modern times is rendered difficult by the political vicissitudes through which the various nations have passed. In the countries of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland we have several Celtic peoples subordinated to the rule of England. The problem here presented is not only civil, political, national, but also ethnical. How much of the intellect of Great Britain has been deduced from the Celtic origin? How much has been derived from the Teutonic source? How much should be referred to the amalgamation of the two races and to the peculiar reäctions which result from the composite character?

England has absorbed the mental energies of the Celtic race.

An examination of indubitable facts will show that the leading intellects among a people who have been politically subordinated drift in the direction of the dominant race and join their destinies with it. The problem of government of itself absorbs a large part of the energy

of a subject race. The ambitions of a people who have been reduced by conquest or political union are most easily gratified by passing over to the side of the conquerors and becoming identified therewith. No fact is more patent than the tremendous draft which England has made upon the mind and energy of Scotland and Ireland since the conquest of the latter country by Henry VII and the union of the two crowns at the death of Elizabeth. A large part of the literary enterprise, the commercial ambition, the political aspiration of both Ireland and Scotland, have been appropriated by the dominant English race until it is extremely difficult to refer the common intellectual achievement of the British people to its proper ethnical origins. After making due allowance, however, for all these influences, we are forced to the conclusion that in nearly all of the elements of a high civilization the Gaelic race of Scotland and Ireland has fallen below the English, and that its energy and force and promise are less by a great per cent than that of the dominant people.

CHAPTER LXXVIII.—THE IRISH.

LET us, then, pass over from the Scottish Highlands to Ireland and make a brief study of the insular race in its history and development. Here again, at the beginning, we meet unmistakable traces of a people who inhabited the island before the incoming of the bronze-bearing Celts from the Continent. More and more as our knowledge has widened of the primitive conditions in the west of Europe we find the traces of a tolerably wide distribution of those Iberian and Basque peoples whom we have already considered in the ethnology of the Spanish race. We here once more insist that whatever signs of Orientalism there are in the archæology and ethnology of the peninsular and insular parts of Western Europe must be referred to a very early distribution of a people in these regions, whose origin we must seek in the far East, and whose migratory pathway we must follow through the Hamitic distribution along the western parts of Northern Africa, thence into Spain, and finally into the countries which we are here considering.

Traces of Orientalism in Western Europe.

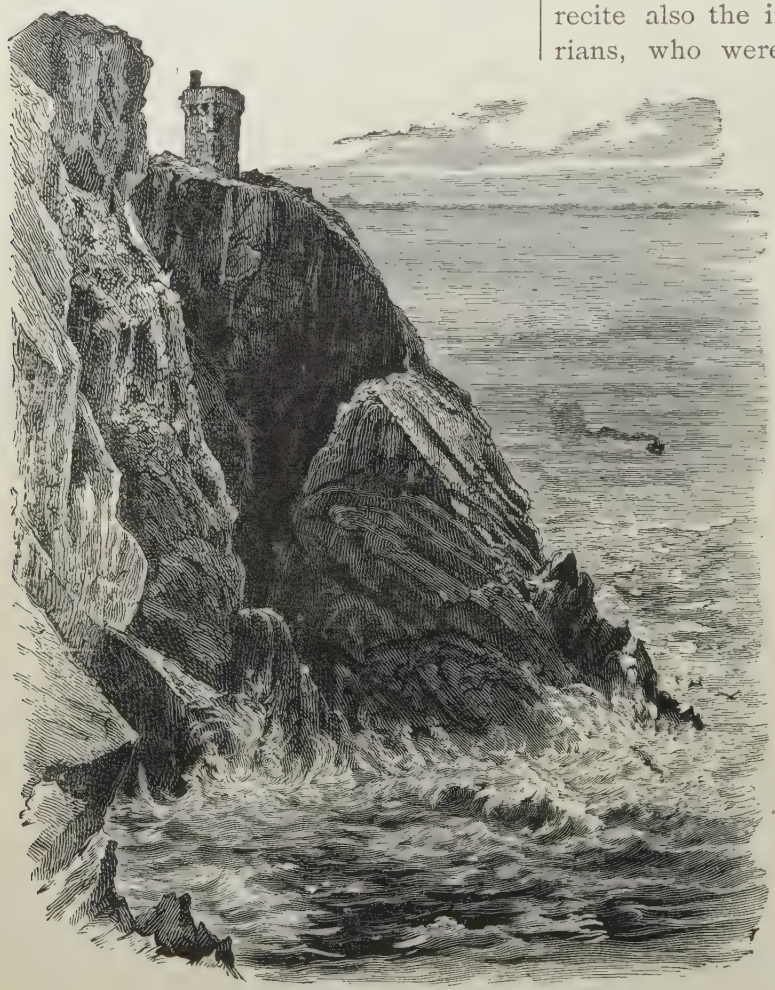
We have already found traces of the ancient Iberian life in the bottom of the ethnic conditions of Scotland and Wales. The same are discoverable still more abundantly in Ireland. Even tradition has preserved the account of the incoming of the Celts, with their bronze weapons and purposes of conquest. It may not be uninteresting in this connection, as an example of ethnic tradition, to recite the story of the Celtic conquest of Ireland as preserved in the old Irish ballads and chronicles. To be sure it is mere myth, having, however—as most myths do—an ultimate origin in reality.

Traditional stories of the Celtic conquest of Ireland.

Partholan was the Celtic hero who led his warriors into Ireland. They came—so runs the legend—from Middle Greece, and landed at the estuary of Kenmare. The part of the coast region in which the landing was effected was divided into

Partholan and his sons establish Irish kingdoms.

four parts; for Partholan had four sons who must become petty kings. The old Iberians were conquered, and a Celtic tetrarchy was established by the four princes, who succeeded their father in authority. Thus was established the first Celtic kingdom. It continued to flourish for three hundred years. Then came a great plague, and Partholan's people were swept away. They were buried in the plain of Talaght, near Dublin. And so ended the first chapter in Ireland's history.



CARRIGAN HEAD.

Thirty years afterwards another race arrived, said to be out of Scythia. The invaders came in thirty ships, and were commanded by a hero called Nemed. He also established a kingdom. But, like his predecessor, he and his people were in course of time swept away by a plague, and were buried upon the hill of Queenstown. The legend goes on to recite also the incoming of the Fomorians, who were doubtless Celtic sea pirates, somewhat after the character of the Angles and Jutes of a later age. These invaders began to arrive before the destruction of Nemed's people, and there was war in the island. Nemed left three sons, who departed into different regions and became the founders of petty kingdoms. Next came a race of people who are called in the traditions the Firbolgs. They were led by five chieftains, who landed at different points on the coast and planted colonies. One was established on the river Slaney, the second in Mayo, and the third at Tracht Rudraide, in Ulster. It is believed by ethnologists that this division of Firbolgs came over from Britain, where the Celts had already established themselves. In the course of time another tribe of invaders, called the Tuatha Dé Danann, arrived, and contended with the Firbolgs and Fomorians for the mastery of the island. Last of all came the Scots, who were said to be

Tradition of Nemed and the Firbolgs.

Milesians. They called themselves the Galam, said to signify "the brave." These peoples all had their pedigree, which they preserved with care, tracing back, through a few generations, the genealogy of their race to Noah!

The story of these mythical invasions is here recited as merely illustrative of the form in which a nation's first consciousness of itself is generally preserved.

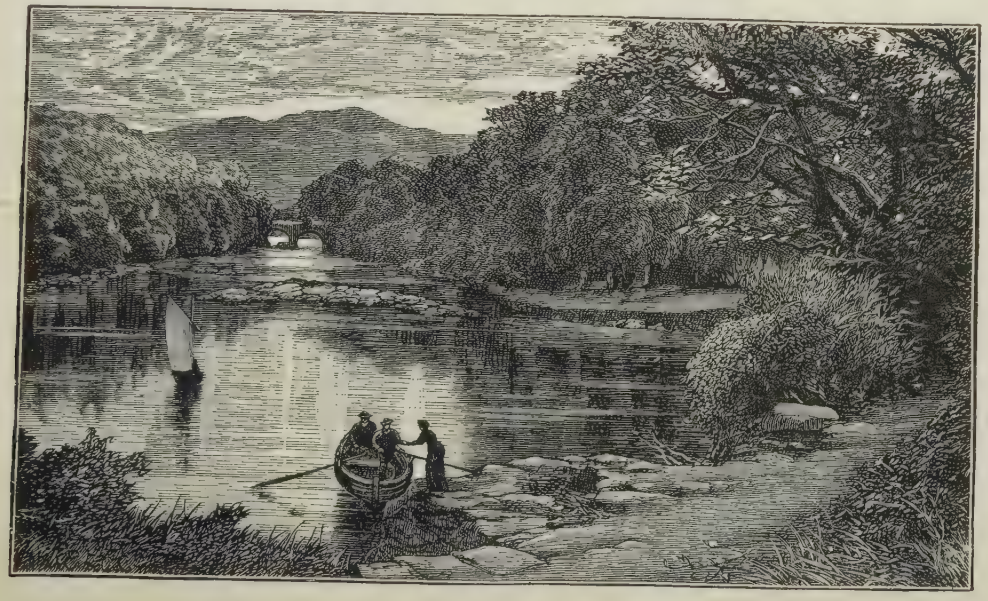
What the mythical stories of invasion signify.

It signifies, when rendered into historical language, that there was a primitive people in Ireland, and that in course of time—doubtless many centuries before the Christian era—the bronze-bearing Celtic warriors and colonists began to cross the narrow waters which separate Ireland from Britain and the Continent, and to plant themselves by conquest all along the Irish coasts. It serves to account in a traditional way for the distribution in Ireland of the race which had already taken possession of Britain, and for its supremacy and development in the former island.

In the mythical history of the Irish race we have, in the next place, an account of the establishment of a kingdom in Munster. The Celtic clan of the De Gaid conquered a large district in the middle parts of the province and drove out the previous peoples, known as the Eberites, into Cork and Kerry. It is not known from what quarter the clan De Gaid came. The expulsion of the previous inhabitants of Munster was not complete, and in course of time three petty kingdoms were planted in the country. One was the kingdom of the Eberians, another of the clan Lu Gaid, and the third of the clan De Gaid. One of the princes of the Eberians, named Mug Nuadat, succeeded in course of time in conquering the other two, and raised himself to complete sovereignty in Munster. Thus was established the kingdom which is said in the tradition to have survived a thousand years.

Clan of De Gaid colonizes Munster.

Another important event of the prehistoric, or half-historic, times was the invasion of Ulster by the Scots. There was a princely quarrel between the Irish



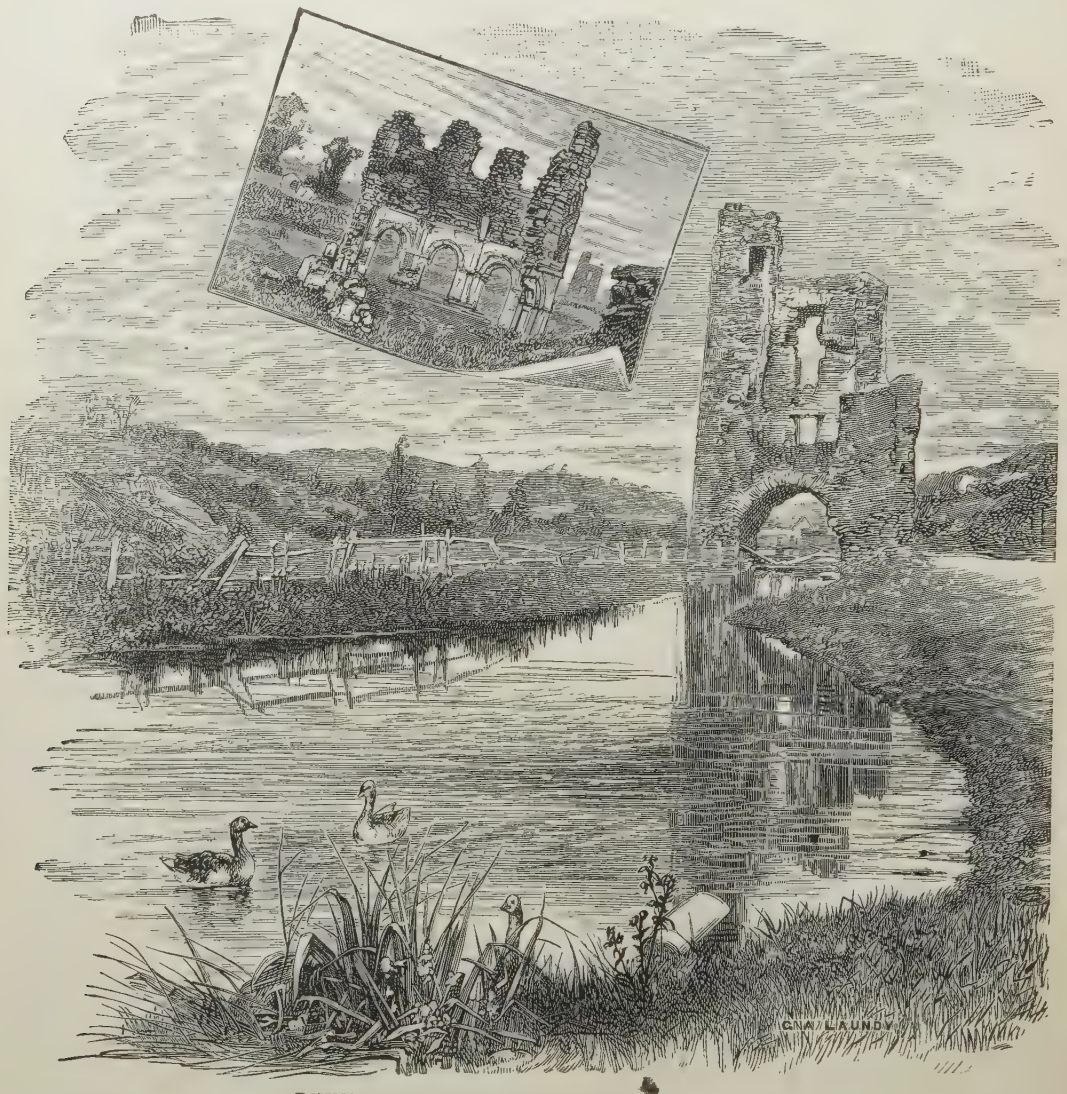
IN MUNSTER.—MEETING OF THE WATERS AT THE OLD WEIR BRIDGE.

subjects of King Ard Ri and those of the Scottish sovereign, and the latter came over in force and made a conquest of Ulster. This is thought to have happened about the year 327. It is not unlikely that the early Irish invasions of

Legend of the conquest of Ulster by the Scots.

hinder the Irish from passing over and attempting to regain in Britain what they had lost in their own country.

In this attempt they were partly successful. No fewer than three colonies were planted by Irish Celts in the parent island. There was a tribe out of Mun-



RUINS OF MELLIFONT ABBEY.—Drawn by Laundy.

Britain had some relation to the pressure upon Ireland by the Scots. It is in the nature of half-civilized peoples, when they are driven from their seats, to fall upon their neighbors. The narrow waters between the two islands would not

ster which passed into South Wales, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and there secured a permanent footing. Another company of Irish invaders took possession of the Isle of Man and of a district in

The Irish Celts turn back on England and Wales.

North Wales; while still a third tribe called the Dal-Riada, also founded a settlement in Wales. In fact, the age of which we here speak was one of diffusion, in which the two branches of Gaelic and Cymric Celts in Scotland, Ireland, and Britain were intermixed by migration and war, yet not to the extent of obliterating the ethnic characteristics by which they were known when they passed over from the Continent to the insular and outlying regions.

Evolution of the Irish race; Christianized by Saint Patrick.

Thus, at length, we may contemplate the Celtic race in possession of Ireland. The situation was such as to favor the development of a people according to its own nature and ethnic tendencies. In the fourth century of our era the race still possessed, nearly all the characteristics and peculiarities which marked the Celts when they first became known to the Romans. Their tribal and clan organizations had been but little changed. Their institutions and manner of life were virtually such as they were when they were in undisputed possession of all Europe between the Rhine and the Pyrenees. It was in this condition that Christianity found them in its movement against paganism. We have already referred to the circumstances of the conversion of the Irish to the new religion. The Church founded by Saint Patrick was in its doctrines and principles identical with that of Gaul and Britain. It was a branch of that Western Romanism which had its center in the Eternal City. There were, however, some peculiarities about its organization, and many striking features in its development. We have already seen to what an extent the former ritual and observances of the Irish race were incorporated by the wise and politic saint who laid the foundation of Catholicism in Ireland. The Church was strongly monastic in its character. Saint Patrick himself has borne witness to the disposition of the early Gael to assume the monastic life. In a passage of his *Confession* he says: "The sons of Scots and daughters of Chiefs appear now as monks and virgins of Christ, especially one blessed Scotch lady of noble birth and great beauty, who was adult, and whom I baptized."

Planting and development of the Irish monasteries.

It is claimed, however, that the primitive Irish monastery differed greatly from those of the continental Church. In case a chief became a Christian, he generally made a gift sufficient to endow a religious institution, of which he retained the principal direction; that is, he entered his own monastery and became its head. The family to which he belonged meanwhile pursued its usual course. At the first celibacy was by no means universally practiced; but the doctrine grew in favor, and at length prevailed. It has been urged that an Irish monastery of the age here referred to had many features in common with those of the communities of Shakers as the same are now constituted in the United States. In process of time a severer and still severer rule and confession were adopted in the Irish monasteries, and they became conformed to the common type which the Church of Rome dictated as the most promotive of holiness and evangelism.

Slow transformations of human society.

It must not be supposed that all of the Irish tribes passed at once under the dominion of Christianity. The movement was slow and toilsome. It is a common error to suppose that societies, whether barbarian or civilized, can be transformed into new conditions in a day. Human nature is such that

even in its most plastic and highly excited states it passes slowly into new forms, beliefs, and modes of activity. We must also take into consideration the fact that the Irish people were at this time under a system of clanship, and that this form of organization was a great obstruction to the spread of common sentiments, and especially to the adoption of new customs and beliefs.

During Saint Patrick's life he himself constituted a bond of union between all the religious establishments which were planted in the island, but on his death there was much relaxation and dissolution. The druidical orders revived somewhat, and made an effort to regain the lost ground. A state of semipaganism ensued, and it was not until the seventh century that the usages of Druidism ceased to be observed and to have the preference among some tribes over the doctrines and ceremonies of Christianity. There were still druidical priests in Ireland as much as two hundred years after Saint Patrick's death. The marriage customs continued to be pagan long after the planting of the new religion in the island. The old national customs of the Celts stood out stoutly against the ideas of morality, the doctrines, and the canon law which Saint Patrick and his successors sought to establish.

Reäction in favor of Druidism; mediæval period.

The sixth and seventh centuries were a period of great confusion and much distress among the Irish people. It has been noticed in all ages that when a new faith is substituted for an old—after the latter has relaxed its hold on the people and before the former is fully established—an epoch of moral depravity and of social retrogression is almost certain to ensue.

The insular position of the Irish race led to the preservation of customs and peculiarities which had long since disappeared on the Continent. It is well known to the student of Church history that in the early ages of the ascendency of Rome the usages of the Church and its principles of conduct were by no means so severe, so after the monastic pattern, as they were at a later period. The Irish Church had at the beginning more license than any other. We have said and repeated that it incorporated out of the preceding order a larger part

RUINS OF THE OLD ABBEY CHURCH OF IONA.

Break of the Irish Church with Rome.

of paganism than did any other of the Western Churches.

This, in course of time, led to a conflict between the ecclesiastics of Ireland and them of the Roman school. The latter had now become accustomed to strict order and discipline. Many questions arose between the insular Christians and the Church authorities of Rome. One was as to the observance of Easter. Another related to baptism. The Irish monks had their traditions on these subjects, and the Roman ecclesiastics attacked them with vehemence for their nonconformity to the true standard. The Scotic clergy and they of England and the eastern part of France, including Switzerland and a part of Germany, were on one side, and the Roman monks on the other. The latter prevailed. The Irish system gave way before the power of Rome. The monasteries in Ireland and Scotland were supplanted by others organized in conformity with Rome, or, if not actually supplanted, the Irish monks were converted to the Benedictine rule and confession.

Points at issue between the Gaelic and Romish clergy.

But in the meantime, however, the zeal of the Irish priests had been as great as had been witnessed in any other branch of the Western Church. Missionaries had gone forth from Ireland and prepared the way for the after-conversion of several peoples whose change of religion has been attributed to other influences. The controversies to which we have referred extended from the close of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth, covering a period of about a hundred and fifty years. In the south of Ireland the Roman usages, including the method of reckoning Easter, were accepted in 633 A. D., but in the north, especially in the community of Iona, the monks did not yield to the Roman usages until 716, and in Wales until 768.

The Irish party yields and becomes most Catholic.

From the eighth to the twelfth century but little of interest is to be noted in the development of the Irish race. The country became Catholic in an intense degree; but the clan organization was preserved, and the petty kingdoms into which the country was divided were after the tribal pattern. Perhaps of all the countries of the West, Ireland shared least in those progressive movements which, though slow, bore the people of Western Europe toward the dawn of a better era. Ireland least of all felt the common sentiments with which Europe began to be inspired. The great agitation which preceded the Crusades and which maintained the Holy Wars for two centuries was little felt among the Irish Celts. Their isolation was so complete that the Church was the only bond connecting them with the destinies of the Continent.

At the middle of the twelfth century, however, these relations began to draw the Irish people into union with England, and from that time forth the country pursued its dependent career. When the monk Nicholas Breakspeare became Pope Hadrian IV, he carried to the papal chair a greater knowledge of English and Irish affairs than his predecessors had possessed. He was the only Englishman who ever came to the papacy. In 1155 he announced to Henry II that Ireland rightfully belonged to the blessed Peter and the most holy Roman Church. He granted the island, therefore, to the English king, reserving only ecclesiastical dominion for himself. It was from this time forth that the English claim of the sovereignty of Ireland was upheld by the Plan-

English domination is established over Ireland.

tagenets and their successors. Henry himself invaded Ireland and established his authority. From the very first the differences between the two peoples, which have ever since led to their estrangement and hostility, were apparent. The Irish, with their clan organizations and their doctrine of gavelkind, were totally unacquainted with the feudal usages of primogeniture and entail which prevailed in England under the Norman kings. As a result the Irish rulers, whether

HENRY II INVADING IRELAND.—CAPTURE OF WATERFORD.

secular or ecclesiastic, did not understand the exactions of homage made by Henry and his successors. Nevertheless, English authority was extended over the island, and the Irish Church, in connection with that of England, was more completely subjected by the papacy than ever before.

We are able to see in these circumstances the conditions which subsequently led to the religious severance of the English and Irish peoples. When the Reformation broke out, and the attempt was made by Henry VIII and Elizabeth to detach the Irish Church from Rome and attach it to the independent sovereignty of England, Irish Catholics resisted the scheme; and Rome was ever afterwards busy in maintaining her sovereignty in Ireland, as against the claims of the English kings. Henry VIII succeeded in disestablishing the monasteries and in driving forth the friars from all their strongholds into the fields and villages, but he could not break their ascendency over the Irish people. As a result, the establishment of the English Church in Ireland was nominal rather than real, and its whole subsequent history in that island was a history of usurpation, of exaction, and of tyranny.

THE RELIGIOUS WARS.—WILLIAM OF ORANGE AT THE BOYNE.

Persecutions of the Irish Church by the English.

The actual conquest of the country may be said to have been made by Eliza-

beth. She was the real conqueror of Ireland, and her policy with respect to the people was not more severe than might have been expected under the conditions which she had inherited from her father and grandfather. The strong Catholic dispositions of the Irish people were shown in the time of the English revolution, but they were unable, in their rebellions against Cromwell, to establish any regular government or to oppose a successful resistance to the iron soldiery of that despotic republican. Under the later Stuarts, Ireland constantly sympathized with the Catholic tendencies of the English kings. The Jacobite disposition asserted and reasserted itself, and was scarcely destroyed by King William at the Boyne.

Futility of the Irish rebellions.

It is out of these historical and ethnical relations that the Irish race has emerged into modern history. It is not our purpose to review the peculiar aspects which the people of Ireland have presented to the inquirer in the last two centuries. The Irish stock is typical to a considerable degree of the whole Celtic race as it appears at the present time. It is against the laws of human nature not to sympathize with the struggles made by the Irish people to maintain their independent existence, their nationality, and to compete in the race for greatness; but it seems to be out of the scheme of destiny to expect any other result than the complete absorption of the race. The English language, learning, and literature, and English institutions have more and more made their way across the island, and it seems manifest that in no great span of time the distinctive features of the Irish people will disappear—that the fate of this branch of the Celtic stock is to be the same which we have already noted in the Cornish race.

Prospect of the complete absorption of the race.

The decline in the population of Ireland since the middle of the present century also indicates the tendency of the race toward extinction, or at least toward its diffusion and absorption among other peoples. If we begin our inquiry with the accessible statistics at the close of the seventeenth century, we find about a million and a half of people on the island. In 1760 the estimate was two and a quarter million. In 1792 the total had risen to a little over four million. The maximum of the Irish race appears to have been reached about 1841, when the census showed eight million one hundred and ninety-six thousand five hundred and ninety-seven. Within the next ten years, owing to the potato famine and other disasters, the population fell off to six and a half million, and in the next decade it had fallen to five million seven hundred and ninety-eight thousand. According to the census of 1881 the entire population of Ireland was five million one hundred and fifty-nine thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine.

Deductions from the race statistics of two centuries.

A large percentage of this falling off must be attributed to emigration. The hard conditions of landownership, the political domination of Great Britain, the evils which until 1869 had attended the establishment of the English Church in a Catholic country, and particularly the great famine of 1847, had conspired to discourage the Irish people to an extent almost unparalleled in modern times. Between 1831 and 1841 almost half a million of Irishmen emigrated to foreign countries. Between 1846 and 1852, covering the period of the famine, the number emigrating was

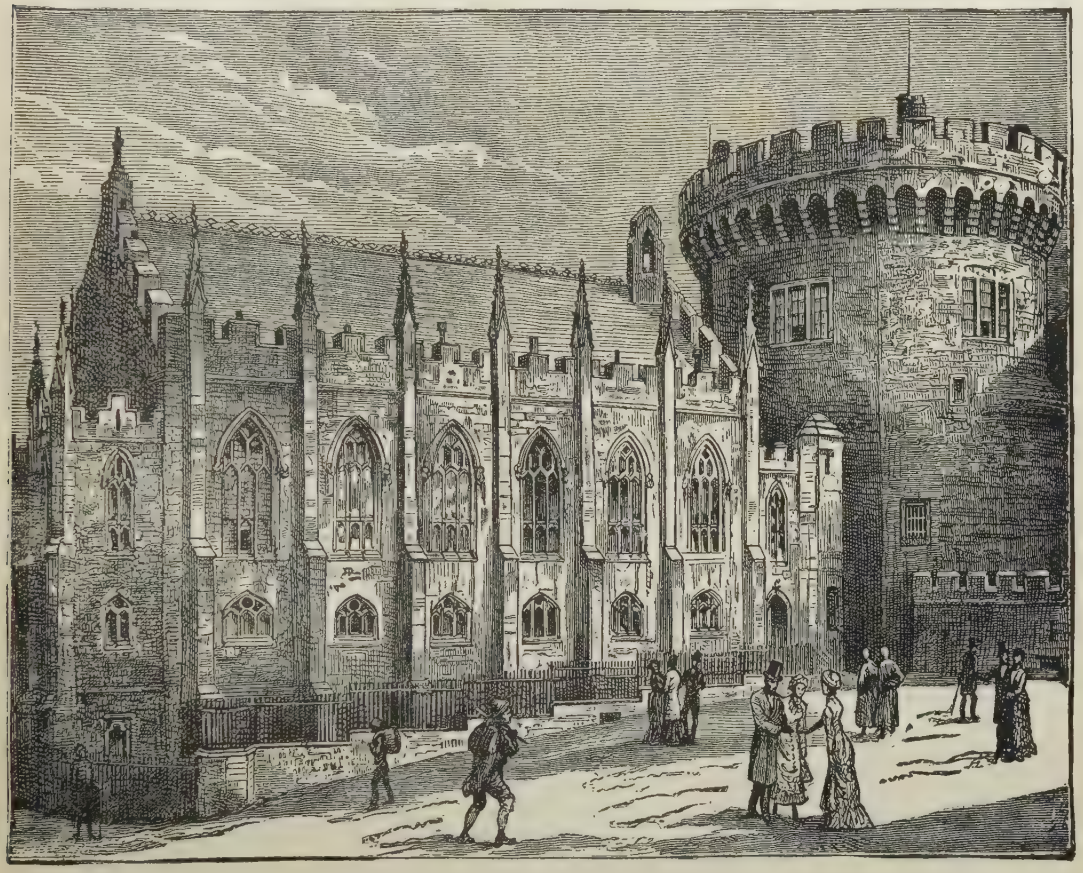
Extent and direction of the Irish exodus.

three times as great as in the preceding decade. More than two hundred and fifteen thousand departed in the single year of 1847, while in 1852 the number leaving the island increased to two hundred and forty-nine thousand seven hundred and twenty-one. The countries into which this large increment of the Irish race was distributed were principally Canada, the United States, and Australia; but almost every country of Europe and the New World has received a considerable number of the Irish emigrant population.

It is in Ireland that we may best consider and estimate the average achievement and rank of the Celtic race in modern times. In doing so much allowance must be made for the evil effects of the English domination, and for the cross purposes, animosities, and even positive hatreds of the two peoples.

Race rank determined by intellectual and material products.

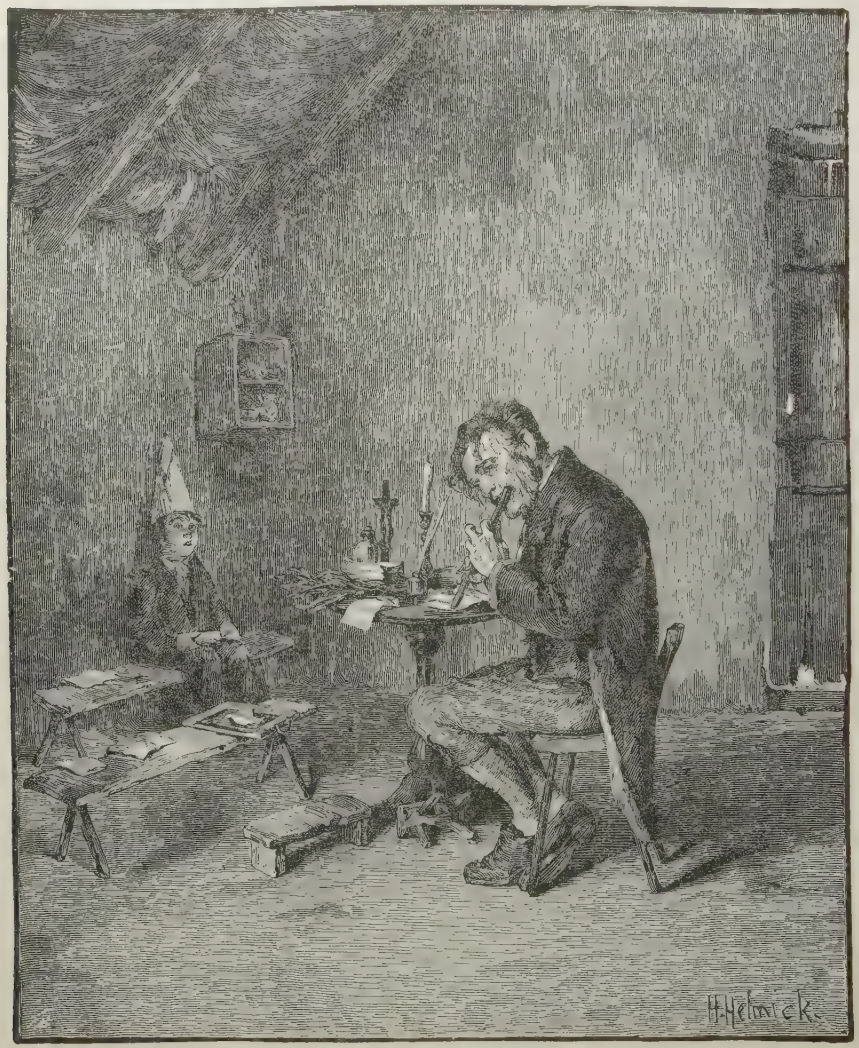
There are two general ways in which the energy and greatness of a people are displayed: first, in intellectual achievement; and secondly, in those material works and enterprises which constitute the tangible expression of human greatness and ambition. In the domain of intellect there are many distinct fields of activity: literature, with its several departments: art, with its great divisions of painting, sculpture, and music; science, with its discovery of new laws and its extended application of those already known.



THE CHAPEL ROYAL, DUBLIN.

On the material side of achievement we have also many manifestations of the physical and constructive energies of men. Architecture stands at the head, but the applications of the builder's art are as multifarious as the activities of those public edifices which are used by the governing powers of society, and in what are called public works, such as bridges, aqueducts, tunnels, thoroughfares, etc. Still another variety of material enterprise has relation to the sea. In the maritime and insular countries the people are naturally seafaring. They are navigators and merchants. This involves the construction and improvement of ships. It is, in general, from these considerations of intellectual and physical achievements that the rank of a given people is to be determined in modern society.

Forms in which material achievement is displayed.



TYPES AND MANNERS.—THE SCHOOLMASTER WITH HIS FLUTE AND PUPIL.
After the painting by H. Helmick.

In intellectual grandeur the Irish race has not risen to the level of the average of Western European peoples. In certain departments of mental labor they have equaled the best products of other nations. In oratory the Irish men's lives. There is in particular an ecclesiastical architecture which has gratified itself with the rearing of grand cathedrals, mostly Gothic, in divers parts of Central and Western Europe. Civil architecture finds its noblest work in have not been surpassed, and the same may be said of their lyric poetry. The Irish songs are among the most sentimental and musical of all the bardic work produced in modern times. In the consid-

Intellectual rank and products of the Irish.

A RURAL CONFESSIONAL IN IRELAND.—Drawn by H. Helmick, for *Magazine of Art*.

eration of ideal subjects also the Irish mind has established its claim to a very high rank. Its critical powers have occasionally displayed themselves with unusual vigor. In other respects the Irish intellect has been in analogy with that of Scotland. It has shared the deductive disposition which we have already noted as belonging to the Scotch mind.

In the more solid forms of literature the Irish have not been distinguished. Neither in epic poetry nor in history has the Irish intellect displayed its powers to advantage. It lacks persistency. Its flights are short and brilliant, but it has not shown strength of wing or that eagle-like sweep and grandeur for which the English and German mind have been so distinguished in our centuries. If we look into the consciousness of the Irish race we shall find it inhabited with quick wit and fiery dramatic action. Its sentiment is poetic, patriotic, love-burdened. It is also a mind which is pervaded with conceits and fancies. It has less of that brooding care and more of easy cheerfulness than the contemporaneous mind of England and the Continent.

On the side of material achievement the Irish are still further behind the work of other modern races. The power to seize the forces of the natural world, to bend them down to the human will, to apply them to industrial problems, to master nature, to crush and grind the obdurate resistance of the material world, has not been shown in any marked degree by the Irish people. If we begin low down with the primitive methods of industry practiced in the island, we shall find that very little

IRISH INDUSTRIES.—Hand Scutchers of Flax.

The race disparaged in industrial progress.

progress has been made since the wild clans first took possession of the country. There appears among the Irish peasantry a preference for the simple application of labor to the simple work of the fields in the simplest manner. The introduction of machinery has been effected in Ireland against all the dispositions and prejudices of the people.

and the Continent. The same is true of nearly all material enterprises and improvements. The construction of thoroughfares, the building of bridges, the erection of public works, the transformation of the face of nature, have been accomplished in large measure by the energies and skill of the English capitalists and supervisors, employing

THE YOUNG SQUIRE AND HIS TENANTS—TYPES.—After the painting by H. Helmick.

It goes with the saying that in a country where such unprogressive habits prevail the grander aspects of material progress are impossible. In architecture the Irish have been among the least distinguished of the modern peoples. Not that Ireland is wanting in examples of great building; but this has nearly all been effected by foreign architects, and after models furnished from England

Material grandeur of Ireland of foreign origin.

the working power of the Irish people in accomplishing the given results.

The latter race seems to have been in a measure satisfied to be thus used by the stronger people. The dispositions of the Irish to continue in the primitive methods of industry have been gratified rather than offended by the subordinate position to which they have been assigned in the industries of the English-

Labor the common lot of the Irish people.

speaking race. In the New World, in like manner, the skill and vehement energy of the people have drawn largely upon the Irish emigrant race for the performance of all simple labor. It were quite impossible to exaggerate the amount of this kind of toil which has been expended by Irish-American laborers on the great railways and canals of the New World.

Personal characteristics of the Celts; the complexion.

The personal characteristics of the Celtic peoples have been a subject of comment since the first contact of the Romans with the races north of the Alps. The Roman travelers and adventurers who made their way into the broad countries of Northwestern Europe have left on record many allusions to the form and features of the tribes inhabiting these regions. We may gather from the Roman historians and poets that the peoples on the two banks of the Rhine, the Celts and the Germans, were not greatly different in stature, complexion, and form. The Germans were more red-haired and had a more florid skin than did the Celts. The latter were flaxen-haired and fair. It has been said by Pritchard, after carefully examining the data, that all the ancient races who peopled the northern and western parts of Europe had what is called the *xanthous* variety of complexion. They were fair, with a yellowish tinge, and in the primitive ages the hair was invariably flaxen, tending to red. The Gauls are so described by Vergil, and particularly by Marcellinus, who had lived in Gaul and was a good observer. It may be interesting to quote his description of the Gauls as a true delineation of the features and character of the Celtic race at the close of the third century of our era:

"The Gauls are almost all tall of stature, very fair and red-haired, and horrible from the fierceness of their eyes, fond of strife, and haughtily insolent. A whole band of strangers could not endure one of them, aided in his brawl by his powerful and blue-eyed wife; especially when, with swollen neck and gnashing teeth, poising her huge white arms, she begins, joining kicks to blows, to put forth her fists, like stones from the twisted strings of a catapult. Most of their voices are terrific and threatening, as well when they are quiet as when they are angry. All ages are thought fit for war, and an old man is led out to be armed with the same vigor of heart as the man in his prime, with limbs, hardened by cold and continual labor, and a contempt of many even real dangers. None of them are known, like those who in Italy are called in joke Marci, to cut off their thumbs through fear of serving in war. They are as a nation very fond of wine, and invent many drinks resembling it; and some of the poorer sort wander about with their senses quite blurred by continued intoxication."

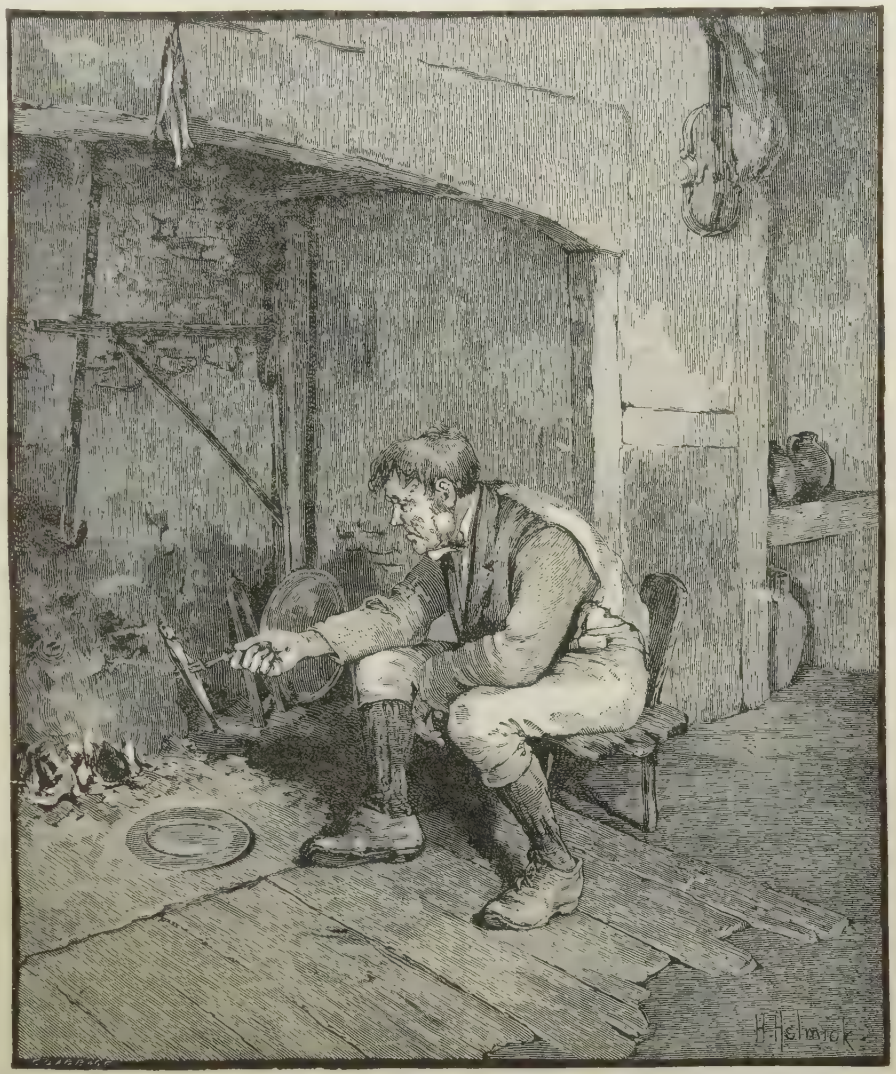
Descriptions of the Gauls by Marcellinus and Vergil.

Such was the original stock. By processes of ethnic differentiation the various Celtic peoples of modern times have arisen. These have preserved in different degrees the personal likeness of the original. In general, a Celt is easily noted among the group of peoples who inhabit Europe and the West. In one respect, namely, in bodily strength, the Irish and Welsh have preserved the preëminence of their ancestry. We should not expect, when we consider the physical vigor and bodily powers of many representatives of the Irish race, that the race itself was in a condition of decline, or that it is disparaged in an intellectual comparison with the other branches of the European fam-

The original stock reappears in the modern races.

ily. The greatest giant in the Potsdam Guards was an Irishman. And if a new regiment were to be organized at the present time, and the complement made up of men of gigantic stature and tremendous physical power, it is likely that a majority would be of Celtic blood. Perhaps this physical vigor which is frequently, though not universally, exhibited by the Irish and Welsh races is to be in part attributed to the manner of life rather than to ethnic forces. The native races of Ireland and Wales are engaged in those primitive forms of industry which best of all develop the body and increase its stature. The hard life of the peasant and the miner is not unfavorable to the reproduction and perfecting of the physical life. The peoples of whom we speak have been less deteriorated by the influences of civilization, and more invigorated by the natural pursuits to which men devote themselves in a natural age, than have the other races of Europe.

Beginning with the personal delineation given by Marcellinus, we find certain diversities among the modern Celts distinguishing those of one country from those of another. The people of South Wales have a brunette complexion and black hair— or at least these characteristics are common. The Bretons, also, have departed from the original standard in the same direction. In the Scotch



A FISH DINNER—TYPE AND MANNERS.
Drawn by H. Helmick.

Diversities of feature in the existing Celtic types.

Highlands red or sandy hair is common, though by no means universal. It is as though there were in this country a reversion to the old type of the Belgic Gauls and the Germans beyond the Rhine. The Irish have preserved to a large extent the original features of the race. The blue eye and fair complexion have been maintained with little alteration, and the flaxen hair may be regarded as the national feature.

Distribution of Celtic traits among the other races.

As we have already intimated, the complexion, the countenance, the physical peculiarities of the Celts have been distributed to a very large extent among the more prominent and powerful races of modern times. The English people themselves are greatly infected with features which were derived from those who preceded them in the island. It is now recognized as a fact that the barbarian invaders who took possession of Britain in the fifth century — those Angles and Saxons and Jutes and Frisians—wild pirates of the northern seas, who came, like hawks of the water, upon the Celts of the British Isles, were nearly all males. They brought at the first but few women with them in their ocean boats. It can hardly be doubted that the first generations of northern pagans born in England were largely the product of British, that is Celtic, mothers, who were taken by the Saxon warriors in the roughest courtship known to history. In all subsequent ages the Celtic stock has been combined in varying degrees with the dominant people, and in recent times it has contributed a large percentage to the English-speaking race in America.

Summary of the subjects considered in connection with the Celts.

We have now noted the condition and distribution of the Celtic races. We have seen them dispersed throughout all Gaul, in the Spanish peninsula, in ancient Armorica, and finally in Britain and Ireland. We have delineated the transformations to which the Celtic tribes have been subjected, and have considered the aspect which the six existing forms of the Celtic race present to the modern inquirer. Much has been omitted; but a sufficiency has been presented to give the reader an adequate idea of the great people who, once in possession of the better part of Europe, have receded and dwindled until, compressed in a few remote positions, they maintain only a precarious and unpromising existence, tending perhaps to a speedy disappearance from the act and drama of modern history.

BOOK XI.—THE TEUTONIC PEOPLES.

CHAPTER LXXIX.—GERMANIA.

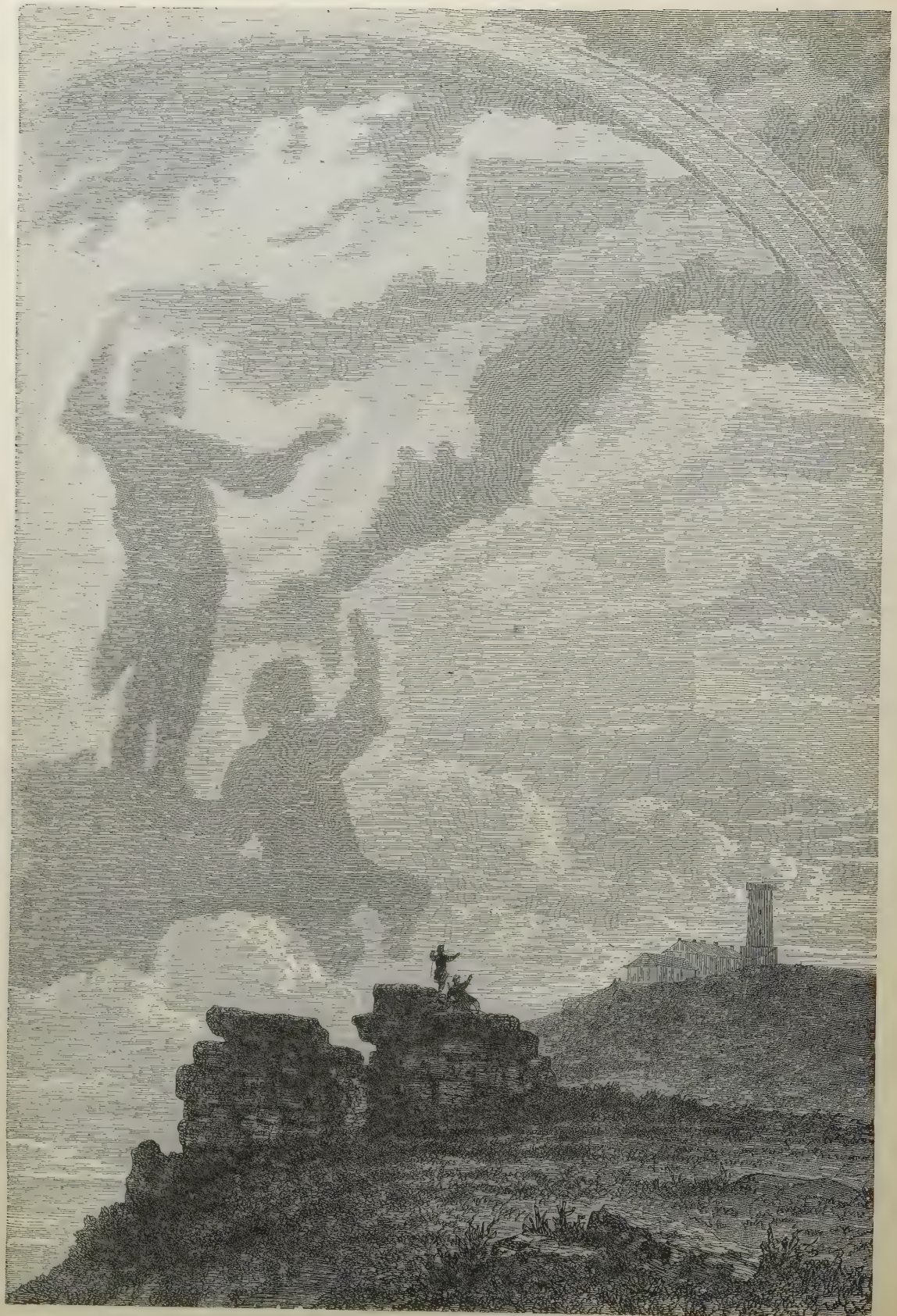
WE are now to consider the evolution of what is generally regarded the youngest of the Aryan races in Europe; that is, the peoples called Teutonic. It is not certainly known that the Germanic stock came last, that the great races bearing the common name of German were the rear guard of the Aryan migrations into the West. Indeed, the opposite view has been stoutly maintained. Some have thought that the Hellenes were the latest arrival, and that the Teutonic tribes of the north had been in possession for centuries before the Græco-Italic race took possession of the South European peninsula.

Many circumstances, however, indicate the incorrectness of this view. The order of national development, if nothing more, tends strongly to establish the later arrival of the Teutonic people. They have been the last of the European races to rise into the realm of nationality; that is, the last on the supposition that the Slavic races are to be considered in common with the Germans. Unless we are to suppose that the germs of national consciousness lay dormant for a much longer period among the Teutonic races than among the peoples of the south, we are forced to the conclusion that the former were the later to arrive in the European domain.

Teutonic race the last to arrive in Europe.

However this question may be decided, we are not in much doubt as to the source of the Teutonic stream which flowed out of the northeast. It was a part of the great Aryan movement to which we have frequently referred in the preceding volume. The course of migration which brought the Germanic race into Europe was out of Armenia, around the Black sea, to the northwest, and thence through what is now Great Russia, westward into the countries where the

Course of the migration of the Germans into the West.



GERMAN LANDSCAPE.—Specter of the Brocken.—Seen and drawn by F. Stroobant, in the summer of 1862.

Germans were destined to establish themselves and ultimately rise to national consciousness. We have also said that this great ethnic stream pouring into Europe contained in the age of the migrations the potency of the Celtic and the Letto-Slavic, as well as the Germanic peoples. The Celtic migration was in the van, and it is likely that the tribes out of which the German race has been developed led the way before the Letto-Slavs. It is on this supposition that we now take up the Teutonic families, intending hereafter to complete the inquiry by considering the Slavic race in its ethnic course and various developments.

ARTIFICIAL INUNDATION IN THE ENVIRONS OF GAND.—Drawn by E. Claus, from nature.

An erroneous concept has long been entertained even by scholars relative to the manner of the spreading of migratory tribes into new regions, and to the order in which they are successively developed. It is not the true nature of such a movement to roll on in a volume to a certain point geographically and then to disperse in various directions, planting here and there the beginnings of those different peoples which subsequent inquiry shows to have been derived from a common stock. The true movement, on the contrary, is progressive. It throws forward by migration, first of all, an older people, which generally lodges in the extreme west of those regions into which the race has penetrated. Then a second movement follows, stopping short of the first, and perhaps a third and a fourth, each pressing somewhat upon the preceding migration, but occupying a region further to the east.

In what manner primitive tribes spread into new regions.

We have seen this method of progress already illustrated in the distribution of the Græco-Italic peoples. The Roman

race was in the van; then the Illyrians or Æolic Greeks; then the Doric, and then the Ionic Hellenes, in the order named. Also in the west of Europe we have seen that the Cymric Celts were of greater antiquity than the Gallic Celts, and that they distributed themselves into regions further west. In like manner we have now before us the still vaster and more important distribution of the Germanic peoples. It appears clear that the oldest, the most primitive, of the tribes of this great family were the Norse folk, who, pressing close to the Baltic on their way to the West, fell into the remote peninsulas of that bleak sea, soon crossing to the northern side, and not stopping until they had reached and peopled Norway, Sweden, and Iceland. It is claimed with good reason that even this remote island does not mark the extent of the Norse incursion. Later archæological and historical inquiry has shown the presence of the Norse race in Greenland, and even in the northeastern portion of North America. To this first Teutonic stock, distributing itself into Northern Europe, particularly into the countries beyond the Baltic, the name of Scandinavian is given, and will be retained.

The law illustrated in migrations of Græco-Italicans.

The second movement came hard after from the same fecund source in the East. The pathway of the migration was nearly identical with that of the Scandinavian Germans. The lodgment was effected in the extreme west or northwest of the Continent proper, in those vast, low-lying hollow lands next to the Baltic and the North sea. To this division of the Teutonic race we have given the name of Low Germanic. The third division came last. It was the most massive and important of all the Teutonic migrations. It fell into the countries now known in the aggregate as Germany. The distribution south was as far as Switzerland, the Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria. On the west, the general limit was the line of the Rhine. On the north, the Baltic was the boundary; and on the east, the confines of Poland. Within these limits were planted the youngest and one of the most vital of all the Aryan races that have come into Europe—that High Germanic family, whose importance in the modern era can hardly be overestimated. It may be noted in advance, moreover, that it was from the High German tribes distributed along the Rhine, in the country which the Romans called by the name of Germania, that our first and most trustworthy notions of the character and dispositions of the Teutonic nations have been derived.

Nature and limitations of the Teutonic distribution.

We shall now attempt a general study of the leading features of that barbarian life which was displayed by the German nations in the times of the Roman ascendency. Its various phases have furnished the subject-matter of much ethnological inquiry. The civilized nations are perhaps better informed, on the whole, with respect to the leading features of the primitive Aryan race from sketches and disquisitions relative to the Germans than from any other source whatsoever. Tacitus has expended the force of his genius upon this subject, and Cæsar was so impressed with the character of the Germans that he paused in his military annals to describe them for his countrymen. Let us, therefore, review the situation and the race, to the end that its proper ethnic position as an element in modern nationality may be fairly apprehended.

Interest of the classical nations excited by the Germans.

FOREST OF THE VOSGES.—Drawn by Niederhaussen, from nature.

The country called Germany was in primitive times covered with immense forests. That was the principal feature of the landscape. Heavy oak and beech woods covered the whole country. Some of these forests were of immense extent. The Schwarzwald, or Black forest, reached across the whole of Germany. The woods had a sacred character. Whatever temples the wild men of these regions had were in the forest, hidden in profound depths, or set on the margins of consecrated lakes. The situation was similar to that which Herodotus has described in the country of the Budini, to the north of the Black sea. The Greek legends ascribe like conditions to the Hyperboreans, and there was even some likeness to the German woods in the grove of Delphi and the forest of Dodono. The appearance of the German forest was such as to strike dread even in the Roman soldiery. The trees were gigantic. Many of them were hollow, and many had projecting roots standing above the ground, forming spaces through which horsemen could ride at full speed. The silence and solitude were such as to overawe the bravest spirit, and impress the mind with a sense of mystery and the presence of the gods.

Extent and character of the primeval German woods.

The country in its existing condition was the native place of a race of hunters. Hunting was the one great pursuit of the tribes that spread themselves abroad under the dark woods, and became as solitary in their manner of life as the surroundings were gloomy and foreboding. There were but few glades or open spaces, but few situations which invited to the cultivation of the soil. What the forest yielded was added to the animal resources which the first tribes gathered as a means of subsistence. We need not here make an extended notice of the wild beasts that roamed at large in the German forests. Here was the buffalo, the bison, the elk, the bear, the wild boar, and, indeed, every variety of creature whose manner of life was adapted to the climate and the surroundings. The animals grew, as did the men in these regions, to an enormous stature. They were abundant. They were fleet of foot and ferocious. They must be taken by all manner of hazard and dangerous exposure of the hunters. To procure by the chase a sufficient provision for the subsistence of the tribe was a sort of perpetual warfare, little less dangerous than the battle with men.

Predominance of the hunting life among the German barbarians.

It appears that there was a peculiar sympathy between the first tribes of men who inhabited these vast solitudes and the wild and gloomy aspects of the natural world around them. There was never seen among the Germanic nations a disposition to change their environment until long after the Christian era. It was with difficulty that the monks and missionaries, who at last made their way into the solitude of the north, persuaded the native men of those regions to cut away the forest and to undertake the cultivation of the soil. Unrestraint was the primary quality of these people. Whatever tended to confine, to restrain, to bind down to locality and servitude, was repugnant in the highest degree to the sentiments of the Teutonic barbarians. They yielded to such necessities as civilization ultimately imposed upon them with the greatest reluctance. The forms of society which the nations of the south had long before adopted, the vast city aggregations, the commercial pursuits, and the common enterprises which tend to national greatness

Mutual adaptations of the race and the environment.

were all looked upon by the primitive Germans with dread, if not detestation. For them, the wild woods were enough. There they were free. There they had license. There the man was able to express himself under the dominion of the native passions with which he was inspired. There he might grow, and expand, and roam, and hunt, and kill according to that dictatorial will and impulse of freedom which constituted the dominant trait of his character.

days of its first occupancy of these lands.

The indisposition of the Teutonic tribes to cultivate the soil was noted by the Roman historians. Tacitus declares that corn was the only grain which the Germans produced. This, together with the wild products of the woods and the plentiful game which the forest afforded, constituted the entire food resources of the race. The climate was exceedingly

Climatic conditions and products of the country.

COUNCIL OF GERMAN CHIEFS.—Relief from the victory column of Marcus Aurelius.

These qualities have never in the subsequent development of the race been wholly eradicated. To the present day no other country in Europe has retained so much of its native aspect as Germany. Here, still, as in the days of Cæsar, vast forests stretch away, unbroken by the stroke of man. Here gloomy morasses extend through leagues of silence. Here in a considerable degree the wild animals are allowed to retain possession of their native lairs; and to the present hour, under these illimitable solitudes, the observer is able to discover a considerable portion of those ancient lineaments by which the German race was known in the

Germany still preserves her original aspects.

forbidding. There were extensive marshes in different parts of the country. The range of temperature was lower than in the subsequent ages. The conditions of life were hard in the extreme, and no other than the most vigorous and vital breeds of men could have survived and flourished under such conditions. The wild fruits which the German forest produced were of the smaller and hardier growths, such as scraggy trees might bear in a most inhospitable region. As we have remarked in another part of this work, mast of several kinds was abundant, and it is quite likely that the Germans, more even than the primitive Romans and the first

tribes in Greece, were dependent upon the wild abundance which the oak tree and the beech tree flung down with each autumnal frost.

Surprise of the Romans at the aspects of German life.

Almost the whole of the *Germania* of Tacitus might here be incorporated in description of the character, the customs, the manner of life, of the Germanic nations. The latter were not known to the Romans until the first century before our era. At that time the excursions of the Roman people through the passes of the Alps, and their occasional visitation of the countries far down the Rhine, made them acquainted with the wild barbarians inhabiting those regions. It was a sensation to the civilized men of the south to discover human life in so free and startling an aspect. One may easily mark the notes of surprise with which the sedate Roman warriors and historians were wont to speak of the Germanic nations. From the first there was a clear presumption that sooner or later the two races must meet in war and perhaps decide by battle which should have the ascendency in Europe. Strange premonition of the thing that has come to pass! After nearly two thousand years, the battle thus anticipated by the men of Italy and the men beyond the Rhine has not been decided. Every age has seen the conflict renewed between the Latin and the Germanic races, and the mastery of Europe is, at the close of the nineteenth century, still in dubious suspense between them. In the very first sentence of the *Germania*, Tacitus declares that the country is separated from Sarmatia and Dacia by the mountains *and by mutual dread!*

We may here pause for a moment to repeat the traditions which the Germans had of their own origin, and which the Roman writers accepted with their usual credulity. Tacitus says that to him the people appeared to be indigenous; that is, sprung from the soil. There appears to have been no notion of a migration from foreign parts. The Germans had the same tradition that the Greeks had of their origin, namely, that they were autochthones, or earth-born. The opinion of the Roman historian was emphasized by the fact that there appeared to be no intermixture with foreigners. Within the limits of the Germania of the ancients there were no foreign settlers and very few visitors. The race was pure. The country was in a measure inaccessible whether by land or water. It was considered exceedingly hazardous for ships to pass around from the Mediterranean to the German ocean. There was, moreover, very little to attract the desires of the Roman race in the inhospitable north. On the other hand, there was much to allure the cupidity of the barbarians in the rich products and genial climate of the southern peninsulas. Nothing except the stern patriotism and religious attachment of the Germanic nations for their somber forests prevented the eruption of conquering hordes at a much earlier epoch than the same finally occurred.

Purity of the German race preserved by solitude.

The German tribes had a peculiar kind of verses by the recital of which they stimulated their courage in battle and perpetuated the traditions of their race. In these ancient songs, which contained the only records of their past, they celebrated the god Tuisco, who was said to have sprung from the earth, as the father of the German race. Tuisco had a son, Mannus. This is nearly equivalent to saying that *Man* was the descendant of Mercury. Mannus was

Epic of Tuisco and Mannus; the name German.

said to have had three sons, from whom sprang the three leading tribes of Germans. These, according to the legend, were called the Ingavones, the Herminones, and the Istavones. The tradition took on also a second form in which the descendants of Tuisco were enumerated as the Marsi, the Gambrivii, the Suevi, and the Vandali. It appears withal that the latter classification had a better basis in historical fact than the former. As to the word *German*, applied to the race at large, it was of a later origin. It is said to have been given to the people who crossed the Rhine and expelled the Gauls, in describing them as *conquerors*. It is said, however, that an inscription is now known to exist containing the name German as the epithet of the race, dating as far back as the year 222 B. C.

Thus much for the tradition. The Germans, however, were not indigenes. They came, as we have seen, from the East. The mythology and the language of the Germanic race both show conclusively its ultimate identity with the great Indo-European family of men. In some of the oldest Teutonic records the words *Anten* and *Inten* are often used to name an ancient nation with which the Germans had been associated. There were particular kinds of building and particular weapons which were proverbially called the "works of the Anten." Many German words, names of places and of people, contain the same syllable, indicative of a former race community with the people of India. Such syllables as *ant*, *ango*, *ent*, *eng*, *int*, *intto*, and *indo* are common in names of places in Old German. In mediæval German the word India is always written Endia. Many other linguistic signs are scattered in the German language, to say nothing of its legend and tradition, indicating, as such vestiges always indicate, the community of descent and primitive association of the Teutonic and Indic races of men.

Ethnic kinship of the Germans and Indicans.

The Græco-Italic fables and myths nearly all had their analogies, as we have now learned, in the mythology of the German peoples. The Greek story of the flood finds its counterpart in the German tradition of a deluge and of a repeopling of the earth. The wars of the gods and the Titans, as recited and believed by the Hellenic race, are repeated in the Teutonic mythology. According to the northern legend, Buri, the father of the Asiatics, who was licked out of a rock of salt by the sacred cow, dwelt at Asgard. It is the story of Boreas in the Caucasus repeated in the Germanic fashion. Buri had a son, Bor, who in turn had three sons, Wile, We, and Odin, or Wodin. Here we have the three sons of Saturn. Wodin is the Northern Jove. In all particulars, even to details and minute inflections of the myth, the story of the gods, the heroes and primitive men, is identical in its substance as told by the Indian bards, the Greek mythologists, and the German seers.

Teutonic and Græco-Italic myths and fables.

CHAPTER LXXX.—WOMEN AND SOCIETY.

IN taking our view of these people and considering their national life we shall again begin with the relation of the sexes. Upon this, rather than upon less essential manners and customs, the character and tendencies of both barbarian and civilized peoples are dependent. Even the political structure of society, that semblance called government, has not nearly so much to do with the essential life and bottom dispositions of a race as its sexual sentiments and practices. On these are reared the family; and the tenacity of the whole body of the tribe or nation depends upon the strength and validity of those affections which have their foundation in the nature of man and woman.

The sexual relation at the bottom of political organization.

It is in this particular that the Germans have had much of their pre-eminence. Among the pagan nations women were generally despised. We have seen already how seldom the woman has been regarded as other than a slave, a chattel, a convenience; how little her true character has been discovered among any of the ancient tribes of men. To this fact the Germans furnish a remarkable exception. It is not ours to say to what extent Tacitus and other Roman writers have exaggerated the chivalrous and noble sentiments with which woman was said to be regarded among the Teutonic tribes. There must, however, have been good grounds for the universal statement made by the men of the south relative to the purity of the sexual relation among the wild peoples of the northern woods. There is perhaps in this condition of sexual nobility among the free Germanic nations a hint of what is universal, or would be universal among mankind, if a different and less artificial code were adopted for the government of human affections. There appears to have been among the Germans absolutely nothing except the force of a profound sentiment to determine the regard in which men and women were mutually held by each other. In other words, the human instinct, so different from the instinct of other living creatures, was sufficient under the free conditions of tribal society to work out the highest results of social —particularly of sexual—purity.

Strong and salutary sentiments of the Germans regarding woman.

Here again, however, we must be on our guard against hasty generalization. The other Aryan races of Europe passed also through the free tribal stage of development, and among many of these the chivalrous sentiment did not appear as it did among the Germans; among many the feeling of love and devotion based on sex rose no higher than the heathenism of the East. So we are driven to the conclusion that *in addition* to the state of freedom existing among the Germans, considered as an antecedent of sexual nobility, there must have been also an ethnic instinct combining with the situation to produce the given result. However this may be, it can hardly be denied—though some distinguished French authorities have denied it—that even in the wild tribal condition in which the Germans were found before the Christian era they

Other Indo-Europeans infected with Oriental notions of sex.

were inspired, both men and women, with sentiments of regard, of affection, of honor, and of sexual purity for which we should look in vain among any other community of people in ancient Europe.

This sentiment displayed itself in the first peoples in a perfect indifference to those methods of concealment between the sexes upon which chastity is foolishly supposed to depend. There was very little difference in the garments of the men and women; and for each the clothing was scant in the last degree. The principal garment was a kind of a square mantle, called the *sagum*, which was fastened at the throat by a clasp, or, as Tacitus says, "in want of that by a thorn." As to the material, it was generally the skin of a wild beast reduced to softness by tanning and dressing. For the most part the body was naked. The more wealthy members of the tribe, particularly the chieftains, wore a kind of vest, which was girt close to the body. It appears to have been the instinct of the race that the bodily form should be exhibited as much as possible. The arms were exposed, and a part of the breast. Nor does there appear to have been the slightest idea of immodesty among the people on account of the exposure. We might even say that the sense of respect was intensified among the sexes by the substitution of nature for artificiality. The clothes-makers had the skill of variegating the skins of

WODIN.

Natural modesty of the German barbarians; clothing.

animals, which they fabricated into garments. They marked them with spots and stripes, and ornamented them with strips of fur. Tacitus says that some of the furs were taken from marine animals, which were out of distant seas, unknown to the Romans.

COSTUMES AND ARMS OF THE OLD GERMANS.
From the Victory Column of Marcus Aurelius.

The sentiments and practices of the German people relative to the sexual relation were very real. There appears to have been nothing fictitious or artificial in the usages of the tribes. Everything was based upon the subjective innocence and purity of man and woman. The whole matrimonial system of the race depended upon this one central fact, that the mind should be innocent. It was by this standard that both woman and man were judged in their relations with each other. It is not meant that the chivalry involved in all this was like that of the Middle Ages. There was a certain materiality about it—we might say a certain common sense—totally at variance with the lighter and more fictitious sentiments of knighthood. Take, for instance, the question of dowry. The wife did not, as was customary among other people, bring a dowry to her husband; but he to her. The parents and relatives in such a case must assemble and pass on the character of the presents. These were not of a kind to please the vanity and fancies of woman, but were substantial in the last degree. They were not the decorations of a bride, but things useful to the household. Oxen were brought by the young man who would take a wife; also caparisoned steeds, shields, spears, swords, all articles of valor and of use. With these the virgin was espoused. It was the custom that she should make a present to her husband, and this was nearly always some articles of armor.

Practical and common sense relations of the sexes.

It was under this significant symbolism that the strong union of man and woman was effected among these wild Germans. In the ceremonial of marriage the woman was exhorted not to shun the hazards and terrors of war. She was counseled to be a partner in the toils and dangers to which her husband's life was exposed. She must suffer and dare with him in all things. Her attention was called to the yoked oxen and the harnessed steed and the offered arms as the symbolism which best expressed her relation to the man with whom she was henceforth to live in perfect singleness. The Roman authors insist upon the strictness and se-

Indissolubility of the marital tie among the Germans.

verity of the marriage tie among these free barbarians. The rule was one wife for one man, and no more. The only exception was in the case of chiefs. The latter sometimes took two wives or more, as in the case of Ariovistus, one of the German kings with whom Cæsar had serious dealing in the north. But the polygamy is believed in such instances to have been purely political, the idea being to bind the tribe of the wife to the king in a peculiar manner.

It is alleged that the German youth under these institutions and customs grew up in their homes with pure morals and chaste sentiments. It was a peculiar theory with the German nations that the marriage should be postponed until the complete maturity of both sexes. The usage in this respect was the very opposite of that which we have seen prevalent in the warm countries of the South and East.

Postponement of marriage to mature age.

As a consequence of this postponement, the physical development of both sexes was prolonged to a later period, and all the vital energies in the meantime were stored up and appropriated to the growth, expansion, and maturity of the body. The custom of the people in this respect struck the sedate Cæsar with admiration. In the sixth book of the *Gallic War* he says: "They [of the Germans] who are the latest in proving their virility are most commended. By this delay they imagine the stature is increased, the strength improved, and the nerves fortified. To have knowledge of the other sex before twenty years of age is accounted in the highest degree scandalous." To this it may be added that the man was generally approaching

SPORTS AND TRAINING OF THE GERMAN YOUTH—YOUNG MAXIMILIAN AND HIS COMPANIONS.
From a wood cut by Hans Burgkmair.

thirty years of age before his marriage.

All violations of matrimonial ties, all insults offered to the modesty or honor of women, all improprieties on their own part, were visited with the severest punishments. If the woman violated her marriage vows, she was given over to the wrath of her husband. In such cases he might cut off the hair of the offender, strip her in the presence of her relatives, drive her from his house, and whip her through the village. Prostitution was almost unknown among these rude but virtuous tribes. No atonement could redeem the maiden who strayed from the prescribed customs and morality of the race. Tacitus says in a word that the people live "fenced around with chastity." All those means which refined peoples have adopted to stimulate the passions, to excite and fire and corrupt the sexual instincts, were avoided and condemned by the Germans. It is alleged that nothing clandestine was tolerated among the people — none of those underhand arts by which the sexes are wont in less virtuous communities to seek and find unlawful association. The Roman writers allege that the German theory of marriage was the merging of two lives in one. Neither the man nor the woman might henceforth have any desire beyond the other. Nature was given full sweep and dominion under the matrimonial bond. Children multiplied through the whole productive period of life, and the honor and respect which they were wont to show to their parents was little short of passionate adoration.

Repugnance of the race to violations of purity.

MANNERS OF THE GERMANS.—END OF THE HUNT.
From a copper plate by Meister, 1840.

Among the German tribes marriage was the climax of life. It was the great central fact of national, social, and individual happiness. The ceremony itself was simple. After the father of the bride had received the gifts which the husband brought, the affianced pair joined hands. Rings and kisses were exchanged between them, and henceforth they were one. The wedding was called the *Hochzeit*, or the "high time."

German marriage the climax of German life.

It was a revel. The guests, relatives, and friends gathered and celebrated the event with as much publicity as possible. They shouted and made uproar and conviviality around the wedded pair. The eye of discernment may see in all this the instinct of a race rejoicing with noise and hilarity over the provisions made for the perpetual renewal and development of their people.

There were in connection with the marriage ceremony several peculiar features which it may be difficult to explain.

Peculiar usages of marriage; the "morning gift."

It is said that among some of the tribes it was the custom to place a drawn sharp sword for three nights between the married pair. The ceremony had a religious significance, but the meaning is hard to discover. Another custom was for the husband on the day after the marriage to make a present to his wife, called the "morning gift," and this she ever afterwards preserved with vigilance and jealousy. It was a kind of talisman which she might henceforth use as a sign of her right under the privileges and honors of German wifehood. It was the usage that she in any case of disputed right might henceforth attest her truthfulness and fidelity by showing the present which her husband had made her, by placing her hand on her breast and swearing that the token was her morning gift.

In considering the question of marriage among the Teutonic races, we are at the threshold of another aspect of their social life, that is, slavery. Bond service was recognized among the Germanic nations. The distinction between the freeborn and the slaveborn was strongly marked. The whole pride of the race was concentrated in the fact of freedom—freedom by birth in the first place, freedom by achievement and action in the second. The name of the freeborn German was *Friling*, while the slaveborn were called *Lazzi*. Marriages between the two classes were illegal. The children of such unions, though the

German slavery; relations of free and slave classes.

GERMAN PEASANTS OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY—TYPES.—From a copper plate by Meister, 1480.

father might be a friling, lost their claims as freeborn and became bondmen. Still, a legal marriage was possible between a freeman and a woman who *had been* a slave. But she must first be set free. Then the friling might take her in marriage, and the children of the union were freeborn. If a free woman married a bondman, the case was hopeless. She, passing under his guardianship, was unable to give him freedom, but, on the contrary, became a slave herself. This kind of union was therefore looked upon with extreme dislike, and was even punishable with death. The Germans took all possible care to prevent the deterioration of the freeborn citizenship of the nation.

Triumph of the natural life over artificiality.

Around the woman and man thus indissolubly wedded grew the family. It was a rough, boisterous, but affectionate, life. It was the life of a populous hut, where vigor and virtue dwelt together with poverty. Among the young Germans nakedness was as much the order as any other. However severe the season, there was little protection to the body against the cold. The babes of this strong race were nursed by the mothers with the home-milk of valor. Such a practice as farming out children to nurses was unknown. It would have appeared despicable to one of those wild divinities of the German woods not to nurse her own offspring, not to give it strength, not to defend it with her life.

Life of the German boys; age of responsibility.

In and around the hovel were gathered also the few shaggy cattle belonging to the family. They and the children dwelt together. Tacitus declares that up to a certain age the German boys were wont to sleep among the cattle and slaves, seeking for warmth rather than elegant lodgings. At about twelve years, however, when the child was regarded as becoming responsible for his conduct, there was an immediate separation between the freeborn and slaveborn youth of the tribe. The former asserted themselves, claiming equality with one another, rising immediately from the communal life which they had hitherto led. At a later date the age of responsibility was advanced to fifteen years. Notwithstanding the coarse, rough life which the German youth passed around their barbarian hovels, they were, nevertheless, cleanly in their habits. Time and again the Roman authors refer to the custom of bathing, which seems to have been as common in the German rivers as in the warm waters of Italy and Greece. It was the life of nature, rough and strong, but still of human nature as distinguished from the nature of those creatures which are born prone and obedient to their appetites.

Excessive rigor of the German family usages.

The relations of the German family were all of excessive rigor. The ties were of a kind not to be broken. Among some of the tribes the wife was expected to perish with her husband. The bond which bound him to her was unto death. There was something ferocious in the natural attachments which these barbarians formed for each other, whether the same were based on sex or on other relations of life. In after times, when the Romans came into these regions and established their authority close along the borders of Germany or positively within those territories, they were wont to insist on the mitigation of the inexorable rules which the custom of the race had prescribed for the government of the household. But the spirit of the people always rose against it. The Saxon and Burgundian legislators of a later age still refused to accept the prin-

ciples of Roman jurisprudence, always adopting the maxim that it was better by the severe punishment of wrongdoing in a few to give warning to the whole nation, than to smile at the violation of immemorial usages and pass them by as of no effect.

In the attempted explanation of the phenomena of tribal and national life, too much attention has hitherto been paid to the tangible aspects of society and too little to those subjective conditions upon which the external forms of social and political intercourse are based. At the bottom and origin of every form which society has adopted, whether in barbarian times or in the civilized condition, lies some sentiment, feeling, or opinion which the primitive people have had, and from which the visible form has sprung. The German race was particularly rich in such sentiments, opinions, and instincts. If we take a general survey of the present conditions of civilization in Western Europe and America, we shall find that the larger part of current institutions have been derived from a Teutonic source. Among the more than one hundred million of people now speaking the English language, a majority of the political principles by which society is influenced are of Germanic origin. True it is that the Roman principles of jurisprudence have been to a large extent imposed upon all the civilized nations of the West, but this part is expressed in the code civil, as distinguished from the common law. What may be called the established usages of the English-speaking races have their roots in the customs, and if in the customs, then in the beliefs and sentiments of the ancient barbarian races beyond the Rhine.

Richness of the German race in sentiments and instincts.

ANCIENT GERMAN HUTS DESTROYED BY ROMAN SOLDIERS.—From the Victory Column of Marcus Aurelius.

One of the principal of these sentiments by which the larger part of the modern peoples are influenced is the belief in the freedom and fundamental equality of mankind. This is a German notion. It existed in a modified form among the Greeks; but it seems to have been unable from that ethnic source to

Belief in the freedom and equality of men.

diffuse itself into other parts of Europe. But the German ideas of the freedom and equality of men have been disseminated until they are now accepted in theory, if not in practice, by nearly all the advanced nations. It is therefore of interest to every thoughtful person to consider the sentiment of freedom as it existed among our barbarian ancestors of the Teutonic race.

FREE MANNERS OF THE GERMANS—AN OLD-TIME BREWHOUSE.
Drawn by D. Lancelot.

This was in the first place the principle of free birth—an inherited liberty. It was as though the fathers of the German nation had at some time in the past emancipated themselves from all thraldom, from all subjection, and had transmitted this right to their offspring in perpetuity. It was the principle of freedom rather than that of civil liberty such as was known and recognized among the Greeks and Romans. With the latter peoples, to be free was not the same thing as with the German nations. The word *liber* in Latin had no such meaning as that *free doom* which the German speech invented to signify the right of every member of the race. To be liber, or "free," in the Roman commonwealth was to have certain rights which were derived from the state. Mark the difference. The rights were *conferred* upon the citizen by the state. It was as though the rights were residual in the state; not in the man. The Roman citizen had liberty under the state. There was much of this same sentiment in the free commonwealths of the Greeks. The prerogatives of the citizen were derived from that organization to which he belonged and of which he was a part.

Distinction between Roman liberty and Teutonic freedom.

Very different from this is the German sentiment of freedom. Here the prerogative belonged to the member of the nation in virtue of his birth. It was inherent in himself. No man gave it. No organization conferred it. None could take it away. It was his. It was of himself a part, as much as his blood and life. Thus much for freedom as a right

German freedom came by birth and ancestral descent.

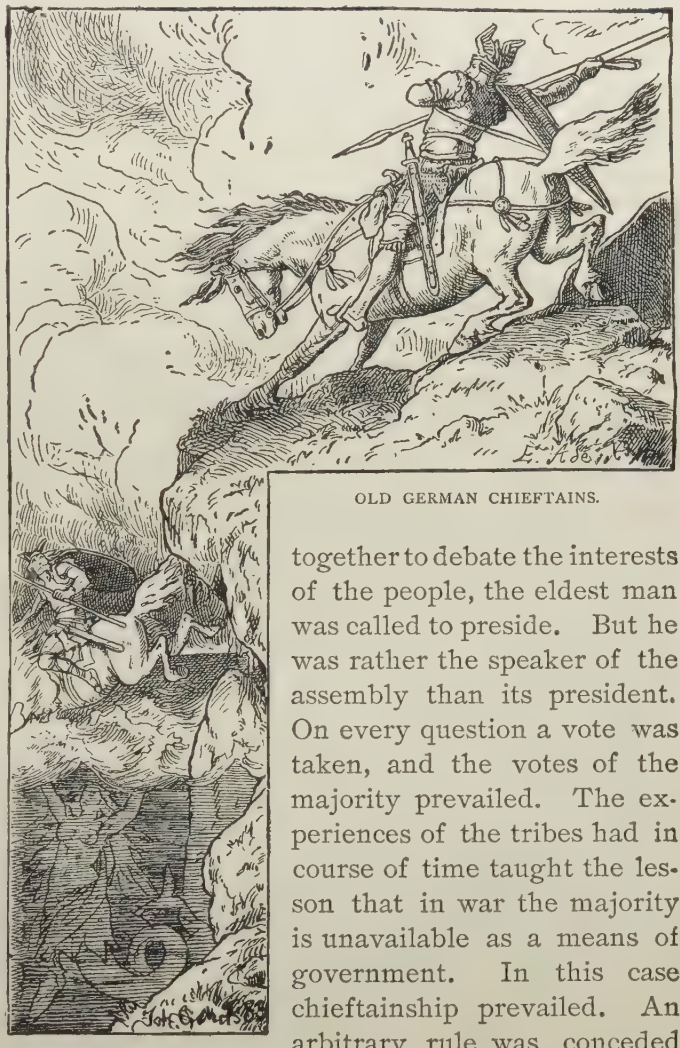
of the German in virtue of his birth and descent from an ancestry which had been immemorially free before him.

But the principle was extended into tangible forms. There was the freedom of companionship between man and man. The word *Irman* in the Persian tongue means "a companion" or "a guest." The word *Germanus* in Latin signifies "a brother," or at least a relative by blood. In both terms there is a hint of fundamental equality and also of the acquired equality which comes of equal companionship. Thus the freemen of German birth were united as if in a fraternal bond. The spirit of equality was so strong as to dominate every other civil impulse. The sentiment was totally unlike that which prevailed among those other peoples who in the prehistoric ages were disseminated from the Aryan nest in the region of the Caucasus.

Freedom of companionship; the fraternal bond.

This sentiment of freedom continued to prevail as the German tribes were developed into nationality. The exigencies of the race history brought out great leadership, and there was in the life of the chieftains everything to attract the admiration of their countrymen and fix them on a high plane of honor and respect; but the Germans never ceased to regard their leaders as their fellow-men. They never ceased to maintain their own equality and to enjoy their own personal freedom, their exclusive right over their own lives and property. In so far as there was any natural aristocracy among them, it was the aristocracy of age. In the assembly of the warriors when the chief men of a given tribe came together to debate the interests of the people, the eldest man was called to preside. But he was rather the speaker of the assembly than its president. On every question a vote was taken, and the votes of the majority prevailed. The experiences of the tribes had in course of time taught the lesson that in war the majority is unavailable as a means of government. In this case chieftainship prevailed. An arbitrary rule was conceded to the military leader. He was selected by his virtues and his valor as a warrior. The men of the nation gathered in an assembly around him, lifted him on their shields, and shouted *hoch!*

The German leader continues to be one of the people.



OLD GERMAN CHIEFTAINS.

Meanwhile the territorial division of each tribe was maintained. The condition of life which we are here depicting was that which presented itself when the Romans first made their way into

the countries beyond the Rhine. It was a state of nationality which prevailed at the beginning of the Christian era. The student of history knows that centuries of struggle ensued. The Roman empire constituted the Danube and the Rhine the frontier of the imperial sway, and along this line the battle was incessant between the two races. But nothing could shake the organization of the German tribes. From Norway on the north, and from distant Iceland southward to the Gothic settlements in Northern Italy and Spain, the old division into tribal districts and the free constitution were maintained in their integrity.

Persistency of the tribal organization of the race.

DEVOTION OF MAN TO MAN—CARING FOR A WOUNDED SOLDIER.
From a wood cut of the sixteenth century.

After centuries we shall see issuing from this constitution the various brotherhoods and societies and orders of knighthood, the guilds and corporations of citizens which in all the Germanic parts of Europe furnish the subject-matter of so large a part of mediæval history. It has been said that the law of free intercourse of German with German, each possessed of like rights and privileges, and each bound to the other in the performance of like duties and obligations, was the soul and life of the German race. It can not be doubted that these principles of fidelity, of humanity, of the instinctive sentiment of devotion between man and man, lay at the foundation and constituted the essence and life of all the subsequent history of the Germanic races. Nor can it be said that even in modern times, after the races of Europe have been so vastly modified by their actions and reäctions upon each other, by the lapse of time, by change of circumstance and historical vicissitude, the essential nature of German civilization has been lost or seriously modified. Its freedom and equality were the bottom principles of its existence.

German society preserves the outlines of the old order.

The Roman poets and classical historians discerned clearly the nature of the ties which bound together in free union the strong people of the northern forests. Lucan declares that liberty was the German's birthright. Florus says that it was a privilege which nature had granted to the Germans, and which the Greeks, with all their artistic instincts and intellectual achievements had been unable to attain. Montesquieu adds that "the lovely thing called liberty was *discovered*" in the wild forests

Roman writers discover the essential features of German life.

of Germany; and Hume has declared that in so far as the modern world has perpetuated the sentiments of liberty, honor, equity, and valor among men, in so far as the English-speaking race has shown itself to be in these respects superior to the rest of mankind, the debt is due to the seeds which were planted by the Germanic tribes in that generous barbarism which prevailed beyond the Rhine in the days of the Roman ascendency.

GERMANS IN WAR.—Henry the Lion at Bardewick.—Drawn by William Camphausen.

Observing carefully the social life of the German nations, we are struck with the prevalence of hospitality. It was both a practice and a principle with these peoples to extend to every comer the courtesy and protection of the home. True it is that there was not much to offer to the wayfarer, to the stranger, in the northern woods; but whoever he was and withersoever he went, he was invited to shelter in the German hut. There he was given food and lodging. None might inquire who he was or whither he took his way. Under the shelter of that barbarous roof he was a guest. No injury might be committed against him. He might be a fugitive, a criminal, but still he was safe within the rude walls of the German home. The warrior who had there his abode was obliged by the usages of his race to spring forth and defend his guest even with his life. The latter in turn was bound to certain principles of action. He must do no wrong while under the roof of his host. The only bar to his remaining as the guest of the household was its poverty. If the family store was so low as not to permit the further entertainment of the stranger, he was conducted by the houseman to some other dwelling where he might remain as a guest. He took with him also a

Teutonic law of hospitality to strangers.

parting gift, and if he had aught to bestow, gave something in turn to the master of the house. Even in later times, when the German communities emerged from the tribal state and became national, the old rights of hospitality were still held valid, and for three days at least any stranger might find refuge in a German hut. The same right of protection and safeguard were extended to all classes. Sometimes the princes of the tribe and the princesses fled for refuge to the hospitality of their subjects, and the state might not pursue or reclaim them against the immemorial usages of the race.

VILLAGE FEAST OF THE OLD GERMANS.
From a copper plate by Hopper, about 1500.

The Germans were excessive in both action and inaction. When they were aroused from a certain lethargy which seems to have been the home mood of the people, they rushed forth and exhibited the most vehement activity. So large and vital a nature must display a most unparalleled vigor of action when once it is stirred profoundly. In war the German soldiers rushed with ferocity upon the enemy, striking right and left and thrusting, beating down with indescribable violence. The same activity was displayed in the chase. The struggle with the wild boar of the German woods, gnashing his teeth and foaming as the wolf-dogs seized him, was only second in his vehement excitement to the turmoil of human battle. But for the rest, the Germans were lethargic to the last degree. They slept heavily and long. Tacitus declares that for whole days they lay in the ashes about their hearths, snoring in what seemed an endless slumber. Returning from the hunt, they filled their stomachs with heavy foods and threw themselves upon the earth, sometimes not arising for days together. Generally, however, at a late hour in the morning they awoke and roused themselves with a cold bath. Tacitus says that warm water was used by the barbarians in their ablutions; but the likelihood is that this was done after the Russian fashion or in the manner of the

Alternate lethargy and fierce activity of the Germans.

North American Indians, who used the warm ablution and the relaxation of the steam bath only as preparatory to the plunge in cold water or into the bank of snow. It required a powerful shock to rouse the vitality of the German warriors after a night the first part of which had been passed in gluttonous feasting and the after part in heavy animal slumber.

CHAPTER LXXXI.—LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE OLD GERMANS.

THE Roman writers give an account of the daily manner of life among the Teutonic nations. After the morning bath came the meal. Each member of the household had a separate table and a seat of his own. Even in so small a circumstance we may see expressed the strong individuality of the race. Each member of the German household was *one*. He considered himself as a personal unit who might not be too much crowded and compressed even by the members of the household.

Passions, sentiments, and appetites of the Germans.

After the morning meal came the business of the day. The men went forth armed, and gathered in groups, where discussions of tribal matters were undertaken or the rude enterprises of the kindred promoted by common effort. But industry was disparaged. The Germans cared not for the accumulation of property. To enjoy their freedom was the principal thing. Their appetites were strong in the last degree. This is said especially of the propensity to eat and drink. Nothing so quickly aroused the members of the tribe as the convivial feasts at which they were wont to assemble and spend a great part of their time. Gathered in this manner they passed whole days and nights without intermission in drinking and singing and carousing in their barbarian manner. Quarrels frequently broke out among the intoxicated, and these were generally settled in blood. The Salic laws took cognizance of this condition of tribal life, and covered the occasion with the following statute:

"If at a feast where there are four or five men in company, one of them be killed, the rest shall either convict one as the offender, or shall jointly pay the composition for his death. And this law shall extend to seven persons present at an entertainment."

Though the sexual bond and all the family ties were exceedingly strong among the German nations, there was one other sentiment still stronger. This was the love of physical perfection and the contempt for physical weakness. It was not reckoned among the humanities to preserve the weak or imperfect members of the race or those who had become imbecile through disease or old age. In common with the other half-barbarous tribes who first possessed the European continent, the Germans believed it proper to foster the physical vigor of the people by eliminating everything that was diseased, weakly, or deformed. The sickly infant was accordingly drowned in the morass. The sentiment was that life in any imperfect form was not worthy of preservation.

Desire of physical perfection and means of attaining it.

Those who were mutilated or crippled, those who had become infirm from advanced age, those who for any reason were no longer able to participate in the stirring life of the tribe, gave themselves up freely to destruction. It was felt that to live without strength and beauty was ignominious — that such a life might mit suicide. They who were sick besought their healthy companions to pierce them through with a lance, that they might at once shed forth a life that was no longer valuable to themselves or others. There were certain places to which the unfortunate were wont to re-

Imperfect forms of life cast out and destroyed.

CAROUSAL OF THE GERMANS.—The Balthen's Drinking Welcome to the King's Children.—Drawn by H. Leutermann.

properly be thrown off by its possessor. It was not considered a blessing to grow old, to decline gradually through years of superannuation, to die at last in peace, on the ancestral bed, in the ancestral home, but rather, while all the powers were still in full vigor, to fling away the life in battle.

It was no uncommon thing among the Germans for the aged and infirm to consort in order to take their lives. It was one of the customs among the primitive Scandinavians for the old men of Norway to resort to a high rock by the sea, and after distributing their goods among their children and sitting with them at a parting feast, to cast themselves headlong and perish in the deep. Death had no aspect of terror when it came by violence, in the clamor of battle, by ca-

lamitous accident of flood and field; but the approach of decrepitude, of infirmity, and of wasting disease was abhorred as the greatest of earthly ills.

This theory of life and these practices in the administration of life tended greatly to the physical perfection and the strong bodily development of the German people. Their size, their stature, their brawny, muscular forms were the admiration, the wonder of the ancient world. All the Roman writers agree as to the tremendous height and strength and physical perfection of the Germans. Their average stature is placed as high as seven feet, though it is likely that this estimate is excessive. Cæsar has told us of the great size of the Gaulish warriors whom he met in his northern campaigns, and how they were wont to make sport of the diminutive Roman soldiers. As much as the Gauls overtopped the Romans, so much did the Germans surpass the Gauls in magnificence and strength. They were a race of Titans. This is shown in the tremendous armor and weapons which the dead Teutonic giants have left to the gaze of modern times. The habit of life tended apparently to stimulate the bodily powers and bring them to full development.

Stature, strength, and bodily habit of the race.

The whole life of the German was passed out of doors. The open, vital air was inhaled in great draughts and expelled as if from an engine. The body was broad and strong as well as tall. The shoulders were immense, the arms muscular, the breast like the breast of a buffalo. The body was white and smooth, ruddy in its glow. The cuticle was thin and transparent, and the red blood came everywhere to the surface. The eyes were fierce and blue, like the glare of the cold sky of January. The hair was abundant, yellowish-red in color, long and wavy, flung back from the brows. The mouth was rather small, the lips red, the chin prominent and well formed, the expression of the

Form and features of the people.

TITANIC FRAME OF THE GERMANS—ILLUSTRATED IN ARMOR OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.
From the Imperial Collection.

face resolute, the cheeks aglow, the attitude full of defiance and daring, the whole person braced as if for exertion, standing like one who would assail or be assailed, and who would die in his tracks sooner than yield his ground.

No other race of men have been characterized with greater vigor and vitality than the Germans. Doubtless the law of natural selection, the survival of the fittest, had much to do with the egregious development of the Teutonic peoples. The weak members, as we have seen, were allowed to die. Imperfect and deformed children were cast away. The aged and infirm either committed suicide or were thrust through with a spear. Only the perfect procreated. Only the perfect multiplied. The strongest everywhere prevailed. The law of sexual preference which the scientists of our age have clearly pointed out worked strongly among the German men and women, bringing up by successive increments to a maximum of strength and beauty all the elements of bodily perfection. The strongest and greatest men were most admired. Many of the German women were like the mythical goddesses. They were the Junos of the northern woods. The hair that fell back from their brows in heavy masses over their shoulders and backs was like a shower of sunset. Such creatures in their highest form were sought by the strong men of the race, and thus each tribe and nation was developed through ages of natural selection to the perfection which was found by the men of the south on their first visits to the German wilds.

A JUNO OF THE NORTHERN WOODS.—DRUSUS ON THE ELBE.—Drawn by Bendermann.

Great vitality of the Germans; the women.

BOAR HUNT OF THE GERMANS.—After the painting by Benno Adam.

Doubtless many of the habits of the German race were little conducive to the perfection and the longevity of the people. The question of drink is still a problem among mankind. Whether stimulants can be taken under any circumstances with advantage, whether certain kinds of beverages containing the intoxicating principle may be used by certain peoples and under certain conditions, is still a question which physiologists rather than moralists have to determine. However it may be decided, it is certain that the primitive Germans were profoundly addicted to drink. At all their feasts they imbibed profoundly of the rude drinks which they knew how to prepare. The national beverage, as it is to the present day, was a kind of beer or ale. Pliny has given an account of its preparation. He says that the liquor was made of steeped grain. "Thus," says he, "drunkenness is a stranger to no part of the world. These liquors are taken pure and not diluted, as is our wine. Surely the earth *thought* she was producing corn, but mark the astonishing sagacity of our vices. We have discovered how to render even water intoxicating."

Drink habits of the Teutonic barbarians.

At their tables the German warriors poured down this coarse drink drained from the malt of barley or wheat by fermentation. Deep were their potations. Under the stimulus of the drink all their secret emotions came to the surface. Then it was that clamor arose around the rude tables of the barbarians. Then each nature displayed itself in its true intent and purpose. Then all dissembling was put aside. Then the chiefs proposed and the tribe voted to go to war or to make peace with the enemy. Then it was that the slumbering animosities which had become ethnic by long perpetuity burst out in little jets of flame. Then it was that the old tribal attachments, the friendships of man for man, the race-love of the German people, flamed like a conflagration at each barbarian festival.

Uproar and business of the drinking feast.

It was in the nature of this German race to seek and to find, by whatever means, some stimulus, some excitement, that might rouse their heavy powers into vigorous actions. Their manners and customs must all be explained in the light of this principle. The blood must be in some way set to boiling through the veins. The brain must be fired, the spirits exhilarated. War with the northern nations was a passion rather because it gave excitement than because it gave conquest and advantage. The sports and spectacles of the rude men of the German woods had the same explanation. The young men of each tribe were wont to invent and practice such amusement as had in it the element of danger. They would expose themselves to the deepest peril, simply for the excitement which came of the hazard. They thought nothing of putting their lives on the stake if by any means they themselves and the spectators might feel the thrill of the wild experiment.

Heavy faculties of the Germans aroused by stimulation.

The youth were wont to dance naked through an array of drawn swords and firm-set spears. A false step was death. We have seen in our own age such jugglery, but always with the hope of gain. With the young Germans it was pleasure only. So, also, in their play. In throwing dice or in practicing any other game of hazard, the excitement of the players rose to a desperate pitch. One thing after another was staked upon the die and lost; and, finally, their own per-

Love of hazard leads to loss of freedom.

sons and their liberty were hazarded in the last throw, and with a reckless desperation for which we may find no parallel. Liberty thus lost, servitude was accepted. Young men, strong as the Titans, in the full prime of youth, suffered themselves to be bound and sold because they had lost themselves at dice! Here the honor of the race stood them well in hand. They would suffer slavery rather than break their words. Those whose personal liberty had thus been forfeited were bartered away in commerce, for it was reckoned that the winner, though he might in accordance with the usages of the race claim his wage, had acquired a scandalous gain of which he must free himself as soon as possible. Those whose freedom had thus been lost, who by the hazards of gaming had sunk to the condition of bondmen, were in a worse condition than the other slaves of the tribe. The latter had, for each family, a habitation and a household. Their condition was serfdom rather than slavery. The bondmen were the tenants of the lord, and the subjection of the slave-class extended no further. But they whose liberty had been lost in gaming might be sold as are the chattel slaves among modern nations.

The land system of the Germanic nations had strict respect to their manner and theory of life. We have already pointed out the three pursuits which absorbed the energies of the German race. These were war, the chase, and to a limited extent the cultivation of the soil. The last was the irksome part of life. The first two vocations constituted its pleasures and gave its gain. Agriculture was practiced no further than the raising of a limited amount of corn; that is, rye and barley and wheat. In the production of this, slave labor was as much used as possible. Such was the disesteem of agriculture that fee simple ownership of the soil was at first unknown. It might have been expected that under the German theory of citizenship the lands would be owned in fee, but another part of the system forbade it. The land in the beginning belonged to the tribes. Each nation had its own district, its own territorial boundaries, which were observed with tolerable strictness.

The three leading vocations of the German people.

ANCIENT GERMAN HOUSES.
From the column of Antoninus.

Within the given limits the lands were annually allotted to the owners, that is, the arable lands; for the wild lands were held in common and reserved for the free chase to all the Germans. In the annual exchange of plow-lands, a part was each year left as fallow ground. The forms of industry as practiced by the barbarians were clumsy in the last degree. No effort was made to increase or even preserve the fertility of the soil. It may even be doubted whether the Germans were aware of the fact that the soil is exhausted under cultivation. It is said by Cæsar that the reason for this constant interchange of land among the different tribes of the nation and among the individuals of a given tribe was to prevent the formation

Management of the lands by the German barbarians.

of those local attachments which would inevitably lead to the settled state, and which by so doing must weaken the warlike spirit of the people, tending to substitute peaceful pursuits and a fixed residence for the manly and exciting vocation of war.

valor, and strength. At a very early epoch this indifference to property and the anticommercial instincts of the Germanic nations began to express themselves in several circumstances of development. First, it forbade the building of cities. To the present day the an-

GERMAN HORSEMEN.—Drawn by Herman Vogel.

The people had very little regard for property. They did not seek to amass wealth, to heap up around themselves great fortunes. Property was regarded as something to be used in the support of life, not something to be accumulated. The inheritance which the German sought to leave to his children was the ideal property of courage, freedom,

Sentiment respecting property and trade for gain.

cient preference for the open country or for small collections of hamlets has prevailed among the Teutonic peoples. They did not take kindly to the metropolis. At the bottom it was the sense of confinement always coming with the city life that forbade the collection of the German freemen in great towns and municipalities.

The same thing was seen in the dislike

of the race for *walls*. It was preferred among all the German tribes that there should be no wall built either for protection or as a means of offense. To the free barbarian the wall appeared as a *thus far* to all his excursions. It seemed the ocean shore, the end of the world; and he dreaded it as a physical limitation to his liberties. He would be unconfined in his goings forth. He would have no cities. He would not degrade himself by trade for gain. He would have no great mass of property heaped up and stored, as though his independence and importance as a member of his nation depended on so fictitious and perishable a circumstance. The average wealth of the German freeman would be thought the extreme of poverty if set down on the tax duplicates of a modern state. Owing to the constant interchange of position with the annual transference of lands, the huts in which the people lived were of little value or durability.

Antipathy of the Germans to walls and defenses.

Each householder, as a rule, possessed a few cattle which he had raised for himself, drawn from the common herd or taken in war. These had several values. He drew the milk of the cows for drink and for the making of sour cheese, ate the flesh for beef—preferring it half raw—and yoked the bullocks as oxen to draw his rude wagons and sledges through the woods. Cattle constituted the chief movable property of the German estate. The name of cattle was transferred to property in general. The raising of the rude herd was associated with the system of serfdom. The name *Lazzi*, which the Germans gave to their slaves, was in the Frankish dialect *Liti*, and in modern German the name has reäppeared in the word *Leute*, meaning the common people. Cattle are called *vieh*, which stands for the ancient word *fe*, meaning the same thing; and from this comes the word fief, the old word feod, meaning personal property. The nomenclature has preserved the history of the ancient condition, just as the Latin word *pecunia*, from pecus, a herd, shows conclusively that among the primitive Romans also the old sense of movable property was limited to cattle and flock.

Importance of the cattle herds; origin of the fief.

The German's horse was a part of his preparation as a warrior. It was about the horse that his affections and pride were largely centered. The German cavalry is fully described by the Roman writers. It was a swift-moving, formidable body of troops, numerous, audacious, well disciplined, both man and horse, terrible in its barbarian evolutions and charges. The horse was regarded with a respect that was half sacred. It was by him that one of the strongest oaths was taken. The Germans were not wont to swear by things which they could not see. Cæsar has told us that the same principle determined the objects which they mostly worshiped. They were little disposed to pray to beings whom they could not behold, by whose assistance they were not manifestly benefited. When it came to the oath, the Germans were wont to say, "I swear by the deck of this ship; by the rim of my shield; by the head of my spear; by the withers of my horse; that the thing is true, that I will observe my promise," or whatever the oath might be.

Treatment of the horse and manner of oath taking.

Under every element and aspect of German life lay a concept of practicality, a sense of realism, more intense than we shall find among any contemporaneous people. Even their mythology

was with difficulty maintained above the level of earthly heroism. Life was regarded as a thing practical in the last degree. It was an estate to be enjoyed. If the primitive German could have been brought to an understanding of what was meant by life as a preparatory stage of discipline for some other condition which he had not seen, he would have laughed aloud at the folly of such a thought. To him life was life and death was death. He idealized not the one or the other.

Predominance of realism and practicality.

The funeral ceremonies of the Germans were the simplest known among the ancient nations. Ordinarily it consisted of burial or burning. When eminent chiefs died or were slain in battle, their bodies were burned with some particular kinds of wood; but there was no heaping of the garments of the dead upon the funeral pyre, no scattering of perfumes in the flames. Sometimes the armor of the dead warrior was burned with his body. Sometimes his horse was offered as a gift in the flames. The tomb was simply a mound of earth, soon sinking to the level of the plain or woodland. It was regarded as a weakness to express great sorrow for the dead. The women were permitted to indulge in tears and lamentations, but for no long time. The theory of the men was that the virtues of the dead should be remembered and imitated, but that no unmanly sorrow, no vain expression of regret should be

BURIAL OF A SUEVIAN WARRIOR.
Drawn by H. Leutermann.

Funeral methods and sentiments of the Germans.

indulged in for the necessary departure of friends or ancestors.

Absence of the commercial spirit in the ancient race.

Another evidence of the absence of the commercial instinct among the Germanic nations is found in the feebleness and primitive character of all trade among them. There was in the earliest time no commerce at all except by barter. Everything was exchanged in kind—one piece of property merely swapped for another which was reckoned of equal value. Money was scarcely known among the Germanraces when the Romans first knew them, and the introduction of money was looked upon with some suspicion. The German mind did not readily apprehend the "dollar of account." The specie value of coin they better understood, and they came at length to know the pure from the alloyed coins in circulation among the Romans. Such a process as dealing in money was unknown. If money or any other property were loaned, it was with the understanding that the same would be returned in kind, or at most in equivalent value. The taking of interest was a process with which the people were totally unacquainted, and it is likely that the Germanic nature would have rejected all usurious usage as impolitic and dishonest.

We have spoken of the manner in which the lands were divided out by

WORKSHOP OF A GERMAN ARMORER.
From a wood cut by Hans Burgkmair.

the chieftains among the warriors. Such division was the beginning of the twofold method by which landed property in after times was held. The principle of hereditary right was acknowledged among the Teutonic nations, and led at length to the transmission of real prop

Evolution of allodial title; "from God and from the sun."

erty from father to son. It thus happened that hereditary, or freehold, estates came into possession of many German families. To these properties the name of *allod* was given, and it came to be regarded as a high honor to possess such freehold lands. In course of time the German freeholder—after the hunting life had given place to settled pursuits—was strongly attached to his allodial possessions. Generally the original title by conquest or gift was lost in the obscurity of barbarism; but the long transmissions from father to son had made good any defect in title. The German freeholders were accustomed to say that their allodial lands were received "from God and from the sun."

GERMAN WORKMANSHIP OF THE TENTH CENTURY—IVORY PLATE FOR BOOK COVER.
Carved by the Abbot Tutilo.

The multitude of these *sonnenlehen*, or freehold, estates in Germany was one of the circumstances which kept the people apart and prevented their aggregations in cities. Each man built his house on his own freehold. It was an Aryan abode in every particular, constructed of wood, consisting generally of one large apartment, called the hall, or *saal*. In the center of this was the hearth, and here the German wife had her seat and her dominion. Round about was a garden, a cornfield, perhaps a meadow. The boundaries of the estate were marked with stones and trees. One of the odd German customs was to assemble the children of the neighborhood on the occasion of establishing a land boundary, and of boxing their ears, under the belief that by the infliction of the pain memory would be more tenacious in recalling the place where the stone was set up or the tree notched to indicate the boundary.

The German hearthstone; establishment of boundaries.

When an allod, or freehold estate, had once been acquired, it could not be alienated without the consent of the whole family. The king could not take it away. The freeholder was himself a king within the limits of his estate. Though the

The freeholds of the people might not be alienated.

settled German no longer wandered from place to place, though he had surrendered his barbarian license and had become a householder, he nevertheless sought and found compensation by claiming a complete prerogative on his own land. Within his boundary his person was inviolate; so also the guest that was in his house. The German home became a fortress. Not, indeed, that it was a fortified place, but it was girt around with prerogative and right. Here it was that those principles and theories of inviolability of a man's home which have entered so largely into the jurisprudence of all the Teutonic races had their origin. Here it was first said that every man's house is his castle. Here, also, the principle came to be recognized of a male descent from father to son—of that Salic principle which transmitted landed property in the male line exclusively, as best preservative of the rights, privileges, and character of the race.

Constitution and relationships of the German family.

The German family in the epoch here described was called a *sippe*, and the general condition was sippschaft, or magschaft. The family had a rather broad construction, though all the members must be of a common blood. It was divided into kins*men*, called schwertmagen, who were the warriors; and kins*women*, called spillmagen, who were expected to perform all household duties, especially the work of spinning. Sometimes art work was attempted, and we have examples of not inelegant ivory carving executed by ancient German artists. Of the whole group, the father, as the legal head, was called the *Mund*, the mouth, for he spoke for all, the slaves included. The tie which bound the members of the family to him was called the *bann*. All the kinsmen were under the bann of the father. If any member of the family entered foreign service or married, he became what was called mundig, or selbsmundig. That is, he spoke for himself henceforth, and was independent. On going forth he received a certain property, which was called his *abban*, or appanage. Those who continued unmarried remained under the bann of the father. They might not leave his home or estate without his permission. One who to old age thus remained under the paternal bann was said to be a hagestolzer; that is, one who had become proud (*stolz*) of the hedge (*hag*); that is, a bachelor. Thus is revealed, as we have said, in the phraseology of the German household the history of its organization and peculiar character.

CHAPTER LXXXII.—SPIRIT OF WAR.

IT is one of the difficulties of ethnological and historical inquiry that much of the language employed, though properly expressed, conveys a modern rather than an ancient thought. The reader must always be on the alert to get the proper linguistic and historical perspective. He must acquaint himself with the ancient facts to which modern phraseology is applied. This is illustrated in the saying that the principal business of the Germanic peoples was war. How could war be the principal business of any tribe or nation? Very easily, when we consider the whole environment. The predatory life is capable of sustaining itself by what it preys on. From remote antiquity most members of the human kind have been sufficiently provident to gather round their huts a certain amount of the means of subsistence. Every tribe has in the aggregate a considerable sum of property. In barbarous ages, as we have seen, the leading value of a tribe is in its flocks and herds. It is thus possible for one tribe to fall upon another in war and take away its property. The vanquished people are in part destroyed, some by actual violence, others by starvation. But it is in the nature of life to revive. It is also a law of the natural world that the more life is crowded to the wall, the more vigorous is the reviving impulse. When a race of animals is pressed to the very verge of extinction, the rate of reproduction is increased to make up for the deficiency.

In what manner the predatory life may sustain itself.

Among the tribes of men it is the same. War always repairs its own damages. The history of modern warfare proves conclusively that the vacuum in the population is supplied immediately by a natural law of increase. This is true of the barbarous as well as of the civilized condition. It was thus possible for the ancient races to maintain themselves by the paradox of destruction. The ancient Germans were a conspicuous example of this principle and its workings. They made war perpetually on their neighbors. They ravaged and killed and took captive both man and beast. But around all the selvage of Germania the wounds of battle healed as soon as they were made; and the condition for new campaigns was at once prepared. We have seen something of this in the aboriginal tribe life of North America. The Indians were almost continually at war, but never reached extermination.

War destroys and nature repairs the waste.

The military life was so predominant among the Teutonic races as to give character to all the aspects of society. The king of the nation was simply a military chieftain on an enlarged scale. He differed in no essential particular from the petty chief who commanded a clan. He was elected in the same manner by the German warriors. When a campaign was to be undertaken, the chief who had shown himself valorous and able to conduct an expedition was lifted by the freemen on their shields. That was his election. The king was chosen in precisely the same way by the chiefs. The king was the chieftain of the na-

The king a superior chieftain; manner of his election.

tion, as the chieftain was the king of a tribe.

Among no other people with whom we are acquainted was the fact of government in peace so nearly a myth. It consisted of nothing. Cæsar declares in so many words that they had no civil magistrates, or at least no common magistracy. This fact is of the greatest philosophical importance in the consideration of the general question of civil government. Whether government is a large fact or a small fact in the destiny of nations may turn upon data, of which the Germans must furnish many. The race has always had a repugnance to much government. Instead of considering it a vast organism, pressing like the weight of mountains upon all parts of society, holding everything in form with rigor and severity, and in turn sucking up, by administrative processes, the resources of the national life, the German theory was that government in peace consisted of the slightest possible bond, resting lightly as a gossamer upon the individual life. We have seen the perpetuation of the same idea among our own barbarian ancestry. The Anglo-Saxons in Britain adopted and promoted the principle of little government, and it was a maxim with them, as it has been with their civilized descendants, that the man who speaks English does best in the world when he is least governed.

GERMAN VILLAGE ATTACKED BY FREEBOOTERS.
From a cut of the fifteenth century.

On the Teutonic races government must sit lightly.

Tacitus has given us a description of the German battle. The offensive and

MAIL OF CIMBRIAN WARRIOR.
From the original in museum of Vienna.

defensive weaponry consisted mostly of a shield, a spear, and a short sword. The manufacture of iron weapons was but little understood. The refractory nature of iron ore was too much for the skill of the Germanic smiths. But iron weapons were used; at least the essential parts of the weapons, such as lance-heads and sword blades, were made of this metal. The cavalry had only the spear and the shield. The German spear was of the intermediate character between the javelin and the long spear of the Macedonians and Greeks. It might be used in the hand-to-hand encounter or be hurled as a missile against the enemy. The bodies of the soldiers in battle were little protected. The Roman historian says, indeed, that they were either naked or but lightly covered with a small mantle. Only their shields were richly ornamented with decorations and choice colors.

Weaponry and war method of the Germans.

Plutarch has, in his *Life of Marius*, described the arms and equipage of the Cimbri, one of the Germanic nations. He speaks of helmets which the barbarians wore, made in representation of heads of wild beasts, and also alleges that the warriors were covered with iron coats of mail. "They carried," says he, "white, glittering shields. Each had a battle-ax, and in close fight they used large, heavy swords." This description must have been of the chieftains rather than of the common warriors, else we might conclude that Plutarch had substituted an imaginary sketch for a real delineation.

Plutarch describes the armor and manner of fighting.

In the cavalry service the evolutions were comparatively simple. The principle movements were the direct forward charge and the wheel to the right. The array was close, and the aim was to sweep away the enemy as much by the

Tactics of the battlefield; sacredness of the shield.

impact of the body as by fight. Each district had its own soldiery. The warriors were arranged by hundreds, and each company was distinguished by the home name of the tribe from which it was drawn. The honor in which this name was held was increased by victory or sullied by defeat. Tacitus describes the German battle-line as arranged in wedges. The principal stratagem was that of pretended retreat, which was meant to draw the enemy in pursuit, whereupon the Germans would suddenly rally with extreme audacity. As among the Greeks, it was reckoned the greatest disgrace to lose the shield. To yield it up in battle, to permit the enemy in any way to possess himself of this great badge of the warrior, was considered ignominious in the last degree. It was no unusual thing for German soldiers, who had in the *mêlée* of battle lost their shields and were unable after the fight to recover them, to commit suicide rather than suffer the infamy of returning defenseless to their friends.

GERMAN CAVALRY.
From the Column of Antoninus.

Cæsar gives an account of the leading peculiarity of the German battle-line and method of fight. It was the equalization of the foot and the horse in such way that each might support the other in the conflict. Among other nations the rapidity with which cavalry evolutions were performed would preclude the association of the two arms of the service. But such was the exceeding swiftness of the German warriors, that they had no trouble in keeping their place by the side of the cavalry in full charge. Cæsar has the following paragraph descriptive of this method of fight:

Equalization of the horse and the foot in battle.

"There was also this method of battle in which the Germans trained themselves: there were six thousand cavalry and the same number of infantry, most swift of foot and brave, whom the horsemen had chosen, one by one, with a view to their own protection. By the side of these they remain in the battle, and to these the horsemen betake themselves from the fight. These, if the cavalry be hard pressed, join them in the combat. If any fall, wounded, from their horses, they are covered by their foot companions. In advancing and retreating, even to considerable distances, such agility have these warriors acquired by exercise that, supporting themselves by the manes of the horses, they keep pace with them in the field."

German warfare, such as it was during the first five centuries of our era, may be considered under the two aspects of offensive and defensive. On some occasions the warriors went forth on expedi-

Offensive and defensive aspects of German war.

tions against their neighbors, even the Romans, and attacked them, generally achieving victory and bearing off the spoil. In rarer instances Germania was invaded. The aggressions of the race upon the Roman empire provoked attacks not a few of the imperial legions. For several centuries there was hardly ever a condition of peace along the frontier. The Romans became thoroughly familiar with the German tactics and their ethics and management of war. The Germans also learned all that the empire had to teach in its dealings with enemies. We first see the peculiarities of the situation on the occasion of Cæsar's invasion of Gaul. The nations defended themselves by falling back before the Roman advance and fixing their armies in some place defensible by nature. It must be borne in mind that not only the warriors but all the people of the tribe were aggregated in these situations. The old and decrepit were there, the women and the children. The same condition of affairs reäppeared in the German campaigns. The battle was not only with the warriors who formed a phalanx in front of the families and property of the nation, or perhaps were arranged around the women and chil-

GERMAN FORAY INTO ROMAN SETTLEMENT.

dren and wagons, but rather with the nation itself. Everything was staked on the hazard of battle.

These circumstances added to the fierceness of the conflict. The warriors were inspired to extraordinary bravery by the presence of everything which could move strong men to heroic action. In the first place there were their standards. It is not known precisely what

The effigies, or standard; singing of the pæan.

head, or some other effigy which had been adopted by the tribe as a symbol.

The German warriors as they went into the fight sang pæans and battle songs. All of the Aryan races have had this habit. The old German strophes referred in their subject-matter to the valor and victories of the fathers of the race. It is said by the Roman writers that the sound of a German battle hymn was terrific, not better cal-

GERMAN WOMEN DEFENDING THEIR WAGON CASTLES.—Drawn by Ehrhardt.

the *effigies*, or standard, of a German war party was. Some have thought that it was an image of some deity borne aloft, but this is probably incorrect. The shaft of the standard was cut from the sacred woods, and had a mythical signification as being a growth from the shrine of the national superstitions. It is likely that the *effigies* proper on the top of the shaft was some emblem, like the totem of the North American Indians. It may have been a bird or beast, a figure of a bison's

culated to fire the wild warriors to ferocity than to strike terror into their enemies. The barbarians in singing their war hymns had a way of putting their mouths into the hollow of their shields, thus causing the song to roar like thunder in the horizon.

But the great inspiring circumstance of the German battle was the presence of the women. Sometimes they participated in the actual fight. On many fields the Romans, after the battle,

found dead women along with their husbands and brothers, gashed to death in the conflict, grasping the same weapons which the soldiers held, and wearing on their resolute features the same scowl of defiance. More frequently, however, the women remained, as we have seen, in the rear of the men or in the center

Presence and influence of the German women in battle.

the rude arts which they understood. It is said by the Romans that no faintheartedness was seen among these barbarian heroines in the bloody war business of the field. They shouted their husbands back to battle. They ran with dishevelled hair along the lines, flinging their hands and shrieking their approval of the heroic charge or their contempt of

GERMAN VICTORS AT THE GATE OF THE CAPITOL.—Drawn by Herman Vogel.

of the camp, but in plain view of the battle. It was not the custom of the German soldiers to pay much attention to the wounded and slain while the fight was on. Every man must care for himself as best he could. Those, however, who received wounds and were still able to remain afoot fell back, if the injury was alarming, to the women, who acted as surgeons. The latter sought out the injuries which the men most dear to them had received, and bound them up with the retreat. Little wonder that the German warrior, entertaining such sentiments as constituted the body of his hopes and purposes, should prefer under such circumstances to die in the front line, under his shield and the thrust of the Roman sword, rather than give an inch to the enemies of his race, who in case of victory were certain to capture and despoil the woman whom he loved with a wild and indescribable ferocity

We may note among the great barba-

rian nations of Germania the presence and prevalence of what *à priori* might not have been expected; that is, a powerful public opinion. It is doubtful whether, on the whole, that intangible and frequently prevailing factor in the course and action of modern nations which we call public opinion is relatively more strong at the present time than it was at the opening of the Christian era among the rude peoples beyond the Danube and the Rhine. We have seen how little these races were governed; how slightly they were restrained by those artificial regulations which in the aggregate make up the fact called government. And yet their customs and usages prevailed over all irregularity. Customs and usages are the product of public opinion. They are not made, but are the result of growth. They spring from the earth; and the earth in this case stands for the people.

Prevalence of public opinion in the affairs of the race.

The officers of the German race understood full well the relations existing between themselves and those whom they governed, or rather led, in war and peace. The German priests were the most arbitrary and independent class of officers. To them in general the matter of punishments was relegated. But the secular officers and military leaders were under the prevailing check of public opinion. There was never a time when the German warrior, individual and obscure though he were, lost his voice, or, to express it in the German sense, ceased to be in a certain measure *mundig*—independent. The Romans were at first puzzled to understand these peculiarities of the German race. Cæsar in his first negotiations with the Gaulish

Prerogative and manner of the German kings and leaders.

WOMEN OF THE CIMBRI IN BATTLE.—Drawn by Ehrhardt.

and German kings beyond the Alps doubted their sincerity. He believed them treacherous and perfidious when they endeavored to explain to him the usages of their people and their own relation in the government. The example of Ambiorix, leader of that Low German nation called the Eburones, may well be cited as an example. He told Cæsar in the conference that he, as king of his nation, had no more power over them to command them and lead them in an arbitrary manner than had they over him. Snorri-Sturluson, the celebrated Icelandic historian, of the beginning of the thirteenth century, gives an account of one of the old kings of Sweden who was compelled by the popular assembly to give up a war in which he was engaged with a neighboring nation because of its *injustice!* When he was disposed to stand out against the will of his people, they threatened to throw him headlong into a morass, "*where many of his predecessors had already perished*," if he did not yield to their wishes and decision! It was only the repetition at a later age of the immemorial sentiment and manner of the ancient Germanic race. That race, though it has been submitted to manifold despotisms, has always required the ruler to be one of the people—a German.

THE NORSE MYTH—OSERICH AND ODA.

CHAPTER LXXXIII.—MYTHOLOGY.

WE may now properly approach the subject of German superstitions. What, in the first place, is a superstition? The word has gone into the vocabulary of modern peoples, and is much used for a certain kind of belief and practice. There are those who would widen the sense of the word to include all forms of belief which are based on evidences not demonstrable to the senses. To believe what may be seen and no more is in this case the criterion, and all beyond this is called superstition. At the other extreme the definition of the word is narrowed so that it shall signify only such idle conceits and concepts as are manifestly against the action of natural law. Between these two far-apart limits the word superstition expresses the varying degrees of belief in extra-natural agencies, and the acceptance of irrational traditions, as against the facts which are perceived by the senses and the known laws of phenomena operating in the natural world. The latter is the popular sense of the term, and it is in this meaning that we use the word in its application to the beliefs and usages of the Germanic nations.

Nature and definitions of the fact called superstition.

They were in a great degree given up to superstitions. The Germanic mind has from the first been haunted with many forms of belief, the origin of which it is difficult to account for, and the presence of which in a mind so highly developed is one of the paradoxes of the intellectual history of mankind. One thing we may clearly perceive, and that is that the superstitions of every people are in the last analysis closely associated with those forms of life, whether animal or vegetable, that have been *most constantly present* to the mind of the people in its barbarian and plastic stages of growth. One may easily perceive the operation of this law among the ancient Germans.

The German mind dominated by superstitious beliefs.

One of the leading forms of the superstition of the race had respect to divination. The method of conducting this art was by the use of switches or twigs cut from fruit trees. The belief in the significance of such omens as could be discovered in the arrangement and manipulation of the twigs and in the significance of lots was universal. Public and private matters were determined by the meaning of the twigs. If the question were a public one, the priest of the canton performed the ceremony. If it were private, the householder conducted the divination. The twigs were cut into small pieces and thrown into a heap upon a white garment. Then the priest or the houseman prayed to the gods and took thrice from the heap pieces of the twigs. These were distinguished by certain marks,[1] and the meaning of the marks gave the answer to the pending question.

Manner of divination with the twigs and switches.

If the divination were unfavorable, it might not be renewed within a certain period, either a day, a week, or a month. If favorable, it was the custom of the people to strengthen the conclusion by

Augury from superstition of the white horse.

[1] Perhaps it was the *buds* on the twigs, their number and relation, that gave the significance.

following it up with other omens. We thus see that the first appeal of Germanic superstition was to the twig of the tree. The second appeal was in the form of augury, caught from the cries and flight of birds. The people also relied greatly upon omens and presages taken from the horse. A white horse was regarded with superstitious respect. It

GERMAN SUPERSTITION—WITCHES BREWING A CHARM.
After a wood cut in Ulrich's *Witches*, Augsburg, 1508.

was the custom that such an animal should be pastured at the public expense; that he should run free in the sacred woods and groves, and should never be subjected to toil or rough usage. The priests were wont to harness white horses to their chariots. The kings also were drawn on their missions by white steeds. The conduct of the animals was closely observed and interpreted. Did they start at an object or snort or neigh, the principles of augury were applied and a meaning deduced. The German priests were held to have the lore of the gods as it respected the conduct of the animal, and, as Tacitus says, to be "privy to the divine will." There was another form of divination which involved the fight to the uttermost of a prisoner taken in war with a German soldier selected for the purpose. Each must meet the other with the weapons which were carried by his own people. The result of the battle was significant of larger events.

The German mind looking forth on nature was cause-seeking to a high degree; but it was exceedingly weak in following the laws of phenomena, in discovering the order and sequence of facts. At the same time, it was prolific in conceits, falling easily into the common error of assigning causative influences to merely associated facts. Out of these dispositions a vast and curious lore was originated among the Germanic nations, and has continued to be one of the characteristics of the race to the present time. Perhaps no other people in the world have been so addicted in all ages to ascribing irrational and impossible causes for the common occurrences of life. The ancient Germans invented a lore for all things and all processes. The lore became proverbial, and was repeated with the force of authority. The thought was filled with the doctrine of signs and omens and presages of coming events. Everything had its sign. There was one lore of the weather and another lore of the seasons; there was a lore of disease and of the cure of disease; and still another of success and failure. The days of the week and of the month had

The Germanic race substitutes lore for science.

their significance. The whole intellectual life of this free strong people was hampered and confined and weighed down by a mass of petty superstitions for the like of which we might look in vain among any other ancient race.

Specific forms of superstition; belief in signs.

It were vain to attempt to enumerate the forms and inflections of these superstitious beliefs. The bodily life was protected by carrying certain objects in the pocket or otherwise about the person. Disease was warded off by the quill of a bird, the bone of an animal, or the root of a vegetable. The heavens were full of signs, and all of the affairs of life must be conducted in accordance with their significance. A house might not be begun when the moon had a certain aspect. The roof would fail of its purpose unless it were laid under the proper sign. Fences and walls would sink into the earth if the moon were inauspicious. Plants would not grow to perfection unless the day of the sowing were selected by the calendar. The fruits of the field would blast unless the sign-scheme had been followed when the seeds were scattered. A wound was dangerous or harmless as it was inflicted in the dark or the light of the moon, or when the "sign" was in the heart or the feet.

The actions of all animals were significant. The secret things were expressed in the cry of a cat or the howling of the house dog. Pigs were in their actions one of the highest expressions of the laws of nature. Ground hogs and foxes were the meteorologists of the race. The course of running water far under ground could be discovered by a switch of witch hazel or of the peach tree, held in the hand of one whom nature favored in this particular. A volume might not suffice to elaborate, even by titles, the endless catalogues of superstitious beliefs and practices to which the ancient Germans were addicted; and the reader need not be told to how great an extent such beliefs and practices have flowed

THE GERMAN MYTH—BALDER.

Supposed significance of the actions and cries of animals.

down with the blood of every Teutonic people, have mingled in the life of the greatest nations of the present time, and have tended to combine in the same mind the absurdities and superstitions of the ancient world with the highest concepts of scientific regularity. It is to this circumstance that many of the intellectual paradoxes of the present time—greatness and weakness, wisdom and folly combined in the same mind—must be referred for their origin and explanation.

THE GERMAN MYTH—FRIGGA.

From this point of view we may well advance to the consideration of the German concept of universal nature. It was anciently a mythology, after the same manner with that of the Greeks and the Romans. And it may be freely confessed that the mythological beliefs of the German nations have been unseated from the human mind with extreme difficulty. Their notions of the natural world, of the universe, of its division into realms and powers, have been as persistent as the other qualities of the race. Not devoid of poetry either was the view of the German barbarians relative to the aspects, the processes, the fundamental conditions of visible nature. Some have thought that they have discovered in the sacred books of the *Edda* a purer and loftier concept of nature and the governing forces of the material universe than were prevalent among the Germans at the time of their first contact with the southern peoples. Nor can it be denied that there are

Germanic concept of nature and its governing laws.

glimpses in the *Edda* of some lofty, almost monotheistic, concepts of nature and universal order.

Outline of the Teutonic theogony.

According to these ancient books there was first of all the Allfadur, or in Old German, the Allfater; that is, the Allfather, or Father of All. It may be believed that to him the primitive Germans, or at least the Norse division of the race, ascribed the attributes of creation and preservation. Close up to this high notion of unity and power were the three *Nornen*, corresponding to the Fates of the Greek and Roman mythology. It was under their immediate administration that the affairs of gods and men were administered in this temporal state called life. In the beginning Allfater reigned alone over heaven and earth. But as yet there was no division of things—only that condition of confusion for which the Greeks invented the name of chaos. Under the creative glance of Allfather the universe parted into two. The first division was Muspelheim, that is, the world of light. The other was Niflheim, the world of darkness. Over the world of light reigned Surtur, the same as the Anglo-Saxon Säter; and over the world of night, Hela.

The generations of Muspelheim and Niflheim.

Allfater decreed the mingling of these two worlds, or of the light and the darkness. Showers of fire fell from Muspelheim into Niflheim, and the battle between fire and water began, between heat and cold. There was boiling and fermentation. Out of Niflheim sprang the giant Ymer, the god of brute force and violence; and out of Muspelheim the sacred cow Audhumla, the divinity of nourishment and preservation. Out of Ymer's feet issued a six-headed son, progenitor of the powers of cold and devastation; while the sacred cow, as we have seen, licked the good deity Buri out of a rock of salt. He was the father of Bor, and of him were born the three brothers Wodin, Wile, and We. These beneficent giants slew the vile Ymer, and out of his body created the earth. Ymer's skull was used for the vault of heaven. His brains were the clouds, his hair was the forest, his bones the mountains, and his blood the sea. Such were the astonishing imaginations of the ancient barbarians relative to the genesis of the heavens and the earth.

The visible world springs from Ymer; empire of Hela.

Thus while the invisible universe was, in the German mythology, derived from the two worlds of light and darkness, over and beyond which stood Allfater, the visible universe was made wholly out of the body of Ymer. Above the visible heaven was Muspelheim. The sun and moon and stars were only glints of light shooting down out of Muspelheim through the firmament. On the other hand, far below the earth, was Niflheim. Hela, that is, Hell, was its king. Her abode—for she was woman—was Helheim. The myth was elaborate. The palace of Hela was misery. Her table was hunger. Her servant was delay. The threshold of the place was ruin. Hela slept on a bed called sorrow. The color of her realm was decay. The bad dead, on their going forth from the earth, must ride for nine nights together through dolorous valleys to the river Giöll. Over this a bridge led into Niflheim. All who had died as cowards die went this way into the world of darkness. Thieves and liars plunged down thither. In the bottom of Niflheim was a deep pit called Hvergelmir, which was built of the heads of snakes, still living, blowing forth unceasingly their poisonous spit on the condemned dead who wallowed in the bottom. In

course of time out of such materials Milton at least, if not Dante—son of another race—will build with more elaboration, but not with a profounder sense of horror, the caverns and sewers of the damned.

THE GERMAN MYTH—HELA.

Between the Middle World and Muspelheim was an intermediate realm inhabited by good spirits. This was the country of Lichtalfheim. Here the guardian genii dwelt. Here was fairyland. Here the Little Folk dwelt; and hence they came forth to minister to the children. The wood nymphs and the water nymphs were called Nixen, and the sylphs were the Undinen. Not without poetry was all this fiction, born of the Teutonic dreams and imagination. The stars were, as we have seen, the sparkling beams falling from Muspelheim. The sun was the eye of Wodin. The Great Dipper was Wodin's chariot. Day rode across the heaven in a car drawn by Skinfaxi, in whom the student will recognize the shining Phœbus Apollo of the Greeks. Skinfaxi had a mane of gold; that was the sunshine. Night also rode in a car drawn by the horse Hrimfaxi; and the mane of Hrimfaxi was the dew. Besides the realm of the good spirits lying between Muspelheim and the earth there was, on the other side, the world of the Black Elves, a demon folk who plagued the human race. This was the kingdom of Schwartalfaheim, the dark region where the Kobolds dwelt and the other seductive spirits that haunted and troubled the children of men.

Myths of Lichtalfheim and the starland.

It was out of these two adjacent realms of Lichtalfheim and Schwartalfaheim, the lands of the good elves and bad elves, that a great many of the German superstitions were derived. Nearly all the plants and animals on the earth, that is, in the Middle World called Mannheim, were connected with

The fairies and elves haunt the land of Mannheim.

the bright fairies or the black elves. The significance of nearly every superstitious belief and practice ran in the direction of these elfish influences which reached man through the kingdoms of animal and vegetable life.

THE GERMAN MYTH—FREYR.

Many were the refinements which the primitive German mind produced in dividing up nature and apportioning to each its part and place. Thus Mannheim, the Home of Man, was divided into an upper and lower part. The upper part, called Asgard, was heaven—the heaven of gods and of men. Wodin's palace in Asgard was called Valhalla. Its shining windows looked out on Paradise. Within, the halls were ornamented with golden escutcheons and lances. Five hundred and forty were the doors that led into Valhalla, and through each eight hundred heroes could ride abreast. The great warriors of Mannheim came hither after death and dwelt with Wodin. Daily they rode forth into the plains to immortal tournaments done in honor of their heroic battles in Mannheim. With the evening they returned to Valhalla, sat in an immortal circle in the halls, drank ambrosial mead from golden goblets, and feasted on the flesh of the bear Sährimnir, who, though slain, was ever restored from day to day, that the deathless warriors might continue their feast on the morrow.

Valhalla the home of the great and blessed.

The rainbow was a bridge—of which the name was Bifrost—between Valhalla and the lower earth. Mannheim was believed to be a sphere surrounded by the ocean of Ymer's blood. The seas, the mountains, the forests were inhabited by dwarfs and elves and sprites, while in the mountains were the abodes of the sons of Ymer. In the far north dwelt the Ice Giants. The great god of the cold was called Njord, that is, North. The wind god was named Kari. His children were frost and ice and snow. One of the giants had a daughter named Gerdha, who on winter nights shut the door of her castle. Then from within, the radiance of her white arms shined far through the windows, and illuminated all the skies; and this was the Northern Lights.

The rainbow bridges the chasm; Njord and Kari.

Thus on and on, with endless variations and inflections, the poem of nature was extended. Another daughter of the

North Giants, named Hvenilda, carried earth in her apron. Once, as she waded through the seas, a rent came in the apron, and some of the earth, falling into the water, formed an island. It was the island of Hven. Very different are the myths from those of Greece and Rome, and yet fundamentally the material is the same. Nor might it be truthfully claimed that the evolution of nature-poetry in the brains and on the tongues of the Græco-Italic bards was greatly superior in elegance and strength to that of the German song-makers in the north of Europe.

Poetical character of the German myths.

It is claimed by those who have made a study of comparative religion that the beliefs of the ancient Germans had many features in common with those of the Iranians in Persia. Thus, for instance, Surtur, the sun, born of Allfater, is thought to have been identical with Ahura-Mazdâo, chief deity of the Persian race. It is said that in the golden temple of Upsala the supreme god of the Germans was represented by a blazing sun. Many of the myths are somewhat obscure. Thus, the year was called Wolfgang; that is, the wolf going. According to the Saga of the Wolf, in the *Edda*, a wolf swallows the sun, while another swallows Wodin. But the sun and Wodin were one. The sense of it is obscure. It is held that the primitive concept of Wodin was degraded to a lower and more human condition; as among the Greeks and Romans, the Almighty Zeus, the Jovis Pater of heaven and earth, was reduced to a sensual despot sitting on Olympus. It is, however, in this process, somewhat polytheistic and wholly myth-making, that the poetry of a race is brought out in fullest perfection.

Common features of the German and Iranian mythology.

Mythologists insist that the best interpretation of the northern god-lore places Tuisco at the head of the Pantheon, and also identifies him with the Hermes, or Mercury, of the Græco-Italic scheme. But the attributes ascribed to Tuisco are not identical with those of the Greek Hermes. He was in part at least a Jove, while Wodin, the nominal Jove, appears partly in the character of

THE GERMAN MYTH—FREYA.

Contest of Tuisco and Wodin for first place in the myth.

an earthly hero. The warlike habits and arts of the German race were from Wodin. He had the surname of Sigge, that is, Victory, from which circumstance the syllable *Sig* entered to a great extent the list of heroic names among the Germanic nations. To Wodin also is ascribed the invention of poetry.

THE GERMAN MYTH—THOR.

The myth takes a quaint and withal a beautiful form. Wodin on one occasion came in the form of an eagle. He had devoured that honey in which dwells the poetical inspiration. From the honey-eating he rose and flew in the direction of Asgard, the kingdom of the immortals. But he was pursued in his flight. Some of the honey he dropped on Asenberg, and ever afterwards the world-poets who took the dew from this mountain were the bad and spurious bards. But upon Himmelsberg, that is, heaven mountain, where the eagle had his home, the true poets took the real honey from Wodin's beak. Thus came bad and good song into the earth.

Frigga was Wodin's wife. She was the Earth. After the introduction of Christianity among the northern nations Frigga was transformed into Frau Bertha, the guardian genius of housewives and hearthstones. Sometimes, however, she had the character of darkness, and rode in the night, on Sleipnir, the eight-legged steed. Sometimes she was drawn by cows harnessed to a chariot. It is impossible to make the members of the Norse Pantheon coïncide in their character and attributes with those of the southern mythology, but there is a general correspondence. In the same manner in which Wodin and Frigga were associated in the Jove-and-Juno relation of divinity, so Freyr, Wodin's son, and Freya, daughter of Njord, were joined. He was the Sunlight, and she was the Moonlight, also the goddess of love. In her train were Siofna, Lofna, Wara, Snotra, and Gefion; that is, Maiden Love, Happy Love, True Love, Shame Love, and Innocent Love. Thus the orb of day and the orb of night were regarded as presiding over all the emotions and passions of the heart.

Place of Frigga and Freya in the system; Thor and Tyr.

Thor was the Thunder. He was drawn through the air by black goats. In his hand he bore the hammer of destruction. He carried the great drink-

ing horn out of which he had once drank up the ocean. The war god was called Tyr. He corresponded in his attributes to Mars of the Romans, but was endued with other offices peculiarly Teutonic. There was also a deity called Widar, who presided over all locomotion. He wore iron shoes, and crushed all things under his feet as he strode through the earth.

CHAPTER LXXXIV.—THE TEUTONIC DISTRIBUTION.

WE have now pursued to a considerable extent the evolution of the primitive life and thought of the Teutonic peoples. In the next place it is proper to note briefly something of the tribal, or national, life of these great races. Much diversity has existed in the classification and arrangement of the German peoples. There has been disagreement and uncertainty relative to all the generic and specific names of the nations and tribes. Ethnologists have disagreed as to what is the best term for the whole race the course and tendencies and character of which we are here delineating.

Nomenclature employed in classification of German races.

At first, the highest ethnic name for all these peoples was Gothic, or Mœso-Gothic. Afterwards, in historical writings, the term Germanic was applied to the race as a whole, including the Letto-Slavic division with the rest. In the next place, the question was raised whether the latter division, namely, the Letto-Slavs, should not be considered as having an independent race origin. Within the last quarter of a century the word Teutonic has been generally accepted as bearing a wide sense, equal indeed to the definition of the whole northern family of nations with the exception of the Celts and a few Asiatic peoples in the extreme north of Europe. We may adopt the latter term as satisfactory, and consider it as the ethnic expression for all those populations and diverse races of men who have filled up the country between the line of the Volga on the east and the Danube and the Rhine on the west. Nor need the student in ethnology be reminded that out of this great region of Northern Europe the race continued to spread across the Baltic into Scandinavia, and from the shores of the North sea into Britain.

The threefold distribution of the Teutonic race.

In the second place, it has been agreed that the distribution of the Teutonic race, considered as a whole, has been into three broad areas, the first corresponding to the larger part of the present Germany, the second having its position in Northwestern Europe, from the mouth of the Ems to the borders of France, and the third including the great Scandinavian peninsula and Iceland. Ethnically, the first region belongs to the High Germanic family of nations, the second to the Low Germanic, and the third to the Scandinavian, or Norse, division of the race. Anciently, each of these major divisions was represented by a multitude of tribes. We have seen how completely the whole race was tribal in its organization. Nor is it possible in the present state of knowledge to disentangle the ethnic complications which were present at the beginning of our era, and to state with

certainty the exact place of each tribe in the general Germanic scheme.

Classification of the Germans proper; place of the Suevi.

If we view, first of all, those German nations which were south of the Baltic and the North sea, that is, if we exclude the Scandinavians, we shall find three general divisions. To these the names of Ingavones, Hermiones, and Istavones were given. The first of these races had their territories along the North sea, and corresponded in general to the Low Germanic division of the race. The Istavones had their place on the Rhine, and became known in course of time by the name of Franks. The Hermiones were located in Central Germany, and may be said to have constituted the heart and body of the race in its strongest development.

Of these, the greatest nation was the Suevi. It is believed that they constituted the majority of the whole Hermionic population. The attempt has been made, indeed, to trace all the German tribes to the two sources of Suevian and non-Suevian stock, and to make this division correspond with High and Low German. It may be accepted as correct that the Suevian nations were the best, or rather the truest, representatives of the High Germanic race; and the classification of the Istavones as a branch of the Suevian family would not do much violence to the ethnic facts involved.

THE NORTH SEA, FROM OSTEND.

In the very earliest times the acquaint-

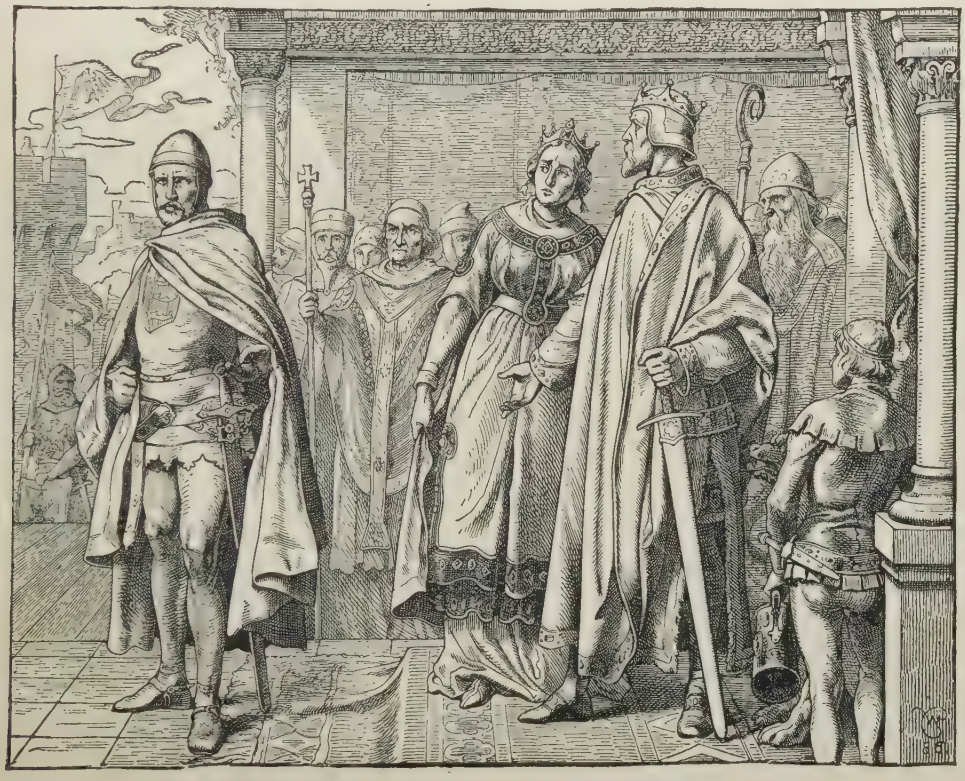
ance of the ancient world with the Germanic race had respect to the Suevians. In the third century B. C. the Greek ships that voyaged into the Baltic to collect amber there, carried to the south of Europe the first knowledge of the Suevian peoples. The derivation of the name is not certainly known, but in a changed form it is still retained in the word Swabian, which the Hungarians apply indiscriminately to all Germans. In the times of Cæsar the Suevi were dominant. It was the dread of these peoples to which the Gaulish nations and the Low Germans, with whom Cæsar first came in contact, referred their own conduct. Their movements, they said, were occasioned and their policy must be explained by the constant pressure and aggressions of the Suevians on the east.

Predominant rank of the Suevians among the Germans.

It will, on the whole, be convenient in the following sketch of the Germanic tribes to consider all those beyond the Rhine in the order in which they are presented by Tacitus, and then to proceed with the Low Germanic races along the shore of the West Baltic and the North sea, passing finally into Scandinavia. We shall, therefore, take up several of the leading German tribes and refer to their place and character, using such data as have been for the most part furnished by the Roman historians. We should say at the outset that the German race along the line of the Rhine was graded off in its qualities toward the Gaulish type, and in like manner the Celtic race was graded down along the same line to the Teutonic pattern.

Off-grading of Germans and Gauls along the Rhine.

For more than twenty centuries this indefinite selvage of the two races has



OLD SUABIAN TYPES.—ERNST OF SUABIA BEFORE CONRAD II, AT INGELHEIM.

continued to present itself as an indefinite ethnic boundary. Cæsar himself, in the sixth book of the *Gallic War*, has noted the haziness of this border line between the Gallic and Germanic nations. He informs us that there was a time when the Gauls surpassed the Germans in valor, and instead of standing in dread of the nations beyond the Rhine, actually carried war into those regions, made conquests there, and planted colonies. Some of the most tact were the Helvetii and the Boii. In a mutilated form, the designation of the latter tribe has reäppeared in the modern name of the country of Bavaria. While the two nations here referred to claimed to be of Gaulish extraction, the Treveri and the Nervii claimed a German descent. So also the Vangones, the Triboci, and the Neuetes were all Ripuarian Germans. Their territories lay on the Rhine banks, and they thus belonged, perhaps, to the Istavonian branch

Hints in Cæsar of the ethnic selvage and interlocking.

Character of German tribes first known to the Romans.

ON THE RHINE.—Ancient Bridge of Boats at Kiel.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

fertile parts of Germania were occupied by Gallic tribes, of which the Roman general makes mention of the Volcæ and the Tectosages. For centuries afterward the character of these Gallic colonists could be detected in the populations lying along the borders of the Hercynian forest.

It was in this region, namely, between the wood of Hercynia and the rivers Rhine and Mayne, that the Roman legions first struck the barbarian nations. The tribes with which they came in contact of the race. In like manner the Ubii were Germans, though their territory was in the debatable land. It might be doubted whether the Batavi, whose country touched the Rhine, were Suevian in their character, but they were a German rather than a Gallic people.

One of the most powerful tribes inhabiting the country bounded by the Rhine, the Sala, and the Harz forest were the Catti. They were a hill people, and were much attached to the Hercynian

wood.[1] They might be called the most German of the Germans. None were stronger or more courageous. None had such fierce visages or so great vigor of mind and body. Of all the tribes with which the Romans came into contact in these northern regions, the Catti were among the most fierce and invincible. Their soldiery was made up of infantry. Their audacity in war and indifference to death—provided always that it were the death of a soldier—were conspicuous among nations that had these qualities in common. The youth of the Catti on reaching maturity allowed their hair and beard to grow, refusing to trim either until they had slain an enemy. Only when they had struck down a foe in battle did they unvail their countenances and claim to be men. It was also a custom to wear an iron ring until some enemy had fallen before the warrior. The aspect of the countenance of these barbarians was said to be dreadful alike to friends and foes. In battle the unshorn who had not yet slain an enemy were placed in the front line in order that they might have a chance to become men.

Race characteristics and customs of the Catti.

Quite different from the latter people were the tribes of the Usipii and Tucteri, who had their settlements on the Rhine below where Mentz was afterwards built. These two tribes were united in fortune. It was as cavalry that they distinguished themselves in the wars with the Romans. Riding the horse was the first accomplishment of the youth of the tribe, and when war horses were a legacy in a family, they were left not to the eldest, but to the bravest of the sons. Between the Rhine and the Ems lived the people called the Bructeri; but other tribes were said to have migrated into territories and expelled them. During the time of their occupancy, however, they warred fiercely with the Romans, and exhibited all the qualities for which the German race was noted in that age. They had the warlike disposition, and frequently gave battle to the neighboring nations of their own race. In the first year of the reign of Trajan, the Roman guard on the Rhine were witnesses of a battle between the Bructeri and another German nation, in which sixty thousand of the combatants were slain.

Names and manners of tribes on the Lower Rhine.

Thus we have proceeded down the right bank of the river to the country of the Frisi, those Frisians who to a considerable extent contributed the blood of the present English-speaking race. But they belonged rather to the Ingavones than to the Istavonian or Hermionian divisions of the German family. It was into this country that Drusus, brother of the Emperor Tiberius, made his way. But he found the country so difficult and the ocean so great a barrier to his progress that not much could be done in the way of conquest.

Place of the Frisians, the Chauci, and the Cherusci.

Tacitus in continuing his sketch next turns from these regions, which may be called Western Germany, to the right, and enters the country of the Chauci. Their territories lay between the Ems

[1] The description which Pliny gives of the Hercynian forest, though marvelous, is sufficiently picturesque, and doubtless true to nature. He says: "The vast trees of the Hercynian forest, untouched for ages, and as old as the world, by their almost immortal destiny exceed common wonders. Not to mention circumstances which would not be credited, it is certain that hills are raised by the repercussion of their meeting roots; and where the earth does not follow them arches are formed as high as the branches, which, struggling, as it were, with each other, are bent into the form of open gates, so wide that troops of horses may ride under them."

and the Elbe, running thence inland, and touching the nations already mentioned. The Chauci were exceedingly populous, and were accredited by the Roman historians with a higher character as to justice, humanity, and progress than most of the other Teutonic tribes. It is even said by Tacitus that the Chauci provoked no wars, and that they were not guilty of rapine or plunder. But like the other nations of Germania, they were on occasions fierce and valiant warriors, keeping up the fame of the race in battle.

Next to this nation were the territories of the Cherusci. We are here in the country between the Weser and the Elbe, that is, in Lüneburg and Brunswick. The Cherusci shared to a considerable extent the peaceable character of the Chauci, their neighbors. It is said, however, that those German tribes who adopted this policy deteriorated in character, suffered in reputation among their countrymen, and presently declined. In course of time the Cherusci were subdued by the conquering Catti.

We come now, in the country still adjacent to the ocean, to the great nation of the Cimbri. Their territories covered the peninsula called the Cimbric Chersonesus; that is, Jutland, Schleswig, and Holstein. It might be more in accordance with ethnic considerations to reserve the notice of this nation for the Low German branch of the race. It is quite likely that this region was non-Suevian in its population. But whatever may have been the place of the Cimbri in the ethnic scheme, they were one of the bravest—we might say most terrible—of all the barbarian foes with which the Roman legions had to contend in the north. They were also one of the most populous. Plutarch has estimated the fighting men of the Cimbri at three hundred thousand. The nation had the passion of war, and their country to the present day bears unmistakable evidences of the military spirit of the ancient race.

Primitive Germans of the Cimbric Chersonesus.

VIEW IN HOLSTEIN.—Chateau of Ploen.—Drawn by Guiard.

The Cimbri appear to have employed earthworks more than the other Ger

man nations. Lines of circumvallation and other vestiges of a military kind, such as the outlines of great encampments, may be seen in many parts of the country. It was in the year 113 B. C., in the consulship of Metellus and Carbo, that the Romans first fell into conflict with the Cimbrians; and the battle may be said to have raged for more than two centuries. Tacitus declares in a word that not the Samnites, not the Carthaginians, not the Spaniards, not the Gauls or the Parthians, had been the cause of greater or more constant alarm to the republic and empire than had these barbarian Cimbri of Lower Germany.

The contest between the Cimbrians and the Romans.

Such was the valor of the race that it extorted from the Romans unwonted expressions of applause. In fact, the Cimbrians competed with Rome for the possession of Gaul. One consul after another, with his army, went down before them. Papirius Carbo, as we have said, was defeated by the Cimbri in the year 640 from the founding of the city. Seven years afterwards Lucius Cassius, the consul, was overthrown in a battle with them in Switzerland. They who survived the battle were obliged to purchase their safety by the payment of one half of all their possessions. About the same time Scaurus was not

Vicissitudes of the conflict; foretokens of Roman overthrow.

CIMBRIANS INVADING ROMAN TERRITORY.—Drawn by Bendermann.

only defeated, but captured and slain. Cæpio followed with the next disaster, and then Cneius Manlius. Thus, under the republic, five consular armies were defeated by the Cimbrians and their allies, and afterwards—under Augustus—Varus, with his three legions, was annihilated. No other such enemy at any time rose against the mighty state of Rome; and the student of history foresees already that ultimately, when the empire shall have been weakened by its vices and undermined by despotism, this same northern race will overwhelm the peninsula and plant the standards of Wodin in the city of the Cæsars.

We shall hereafter return to consider somewhat the tribal life and character of these great barbarians along the Baltic.

Source of the Anglo-Saxon race; place of the Suevians.

Meanwhile it must not be forgotten that from these regions, in process of time, will arise and drift away those Saxons who, in company with the Frisians and the Jutes, will dominate our ancestral island, and that at a subsequent time, several centuries having elapsed, the Normans, springing from the same coasts, will pass into Western Gaul, plant themselves in Neustria, take on a secondary development, and thence carry, in the eleventh century, civilization, power, and the premonitions of song into Anglo-Saxon England.

The discerning Tacitus understood full well that the Suevians were not a single tribe, but rather a family of nations. He says, in a word, that they occupied, in his age, the greatest part of Germany. With the map before us, we may trace their situation with the following boundaries: the Elbe, the Vistula, the Baltic sea, and the Danube. It is believed that at the beginning of our era they had even spread beyond these limits to the Rhine; and, as we have already said, they were doubtless at this time largely interfused with the Istavonian nations on the banks of that river.

Odd was the device, simple and peculiar, which the Suevian nations adopted to distinguish themselves from the other German tribes. They had in some primitive time contrived a characteristic arrangement of the hair, twisting it sidewise and tying it in a knot, under the poll. All members of the Suevian race kept this badge of nationality even until they were hoary with age. Some other German peoples adopted it in imitation of the greater nation. But the Suevian slaves were not allowed to wear their hair in the fashion of freemen. They were, on the contrary, cropped close and shaven. It is said by Tacitus that the device was of such a character as to make the warriors seem taller than they were, and that this feature of the national costume was promoted especially by the chieftains, to the end that they might appear gigantic in the eyes of the enemy.

Suevians continue to make themselves appear Titanic.

When Julius Cæsar made his first campaign into the Rhine country, he found all the races in that region in a state of trepidation before the Suevi. He was informed that the country of the latter was divided into a hundred districts, each of which yielded a thousand warriors annually, and that these were in a condition of swarmery and migration, throwing the whole country into turbulence. It appears from the writings of Tacitus that this territorial division had respect rather to the organization of the Semnones, the most ancient and noble of the Suevian race, than to any other of the tribes. If we may trust the judgment of the Roman historians, it was in the Semnonian territories that the very

Territorial division of Suevia; religion of the race.

heart of Germany could be discovered. The people bearing this name were wont, by their delegates, to assemble at a stated time far in the shadows of the sacred woods. There, with auguries and what Tacitus calls "ancient terror," and with the sacrifice of a human victim, they were wont to celebrate the old Teutonic orgy from which, in a measure, all other religious practices of the race had arisen. woods. In going into its gloom he must wear a chain. None thought to go in without this symbol of subjection to the deity who was supposed to have at this place his favorite haunt. The worship was abject in its character. The greatest of natures sink the lowest under the dominion of superstition. If any German in the sacred grove chanced to fall, he might not arise, or even be lifted

CONFLICT OF ROMANS AND GERMANS.—GERMANICUS BURYING THE BONES OF THE LEGIONARIES OF VARUS. Drawn by Grosze.

We may dwell upon these rites. They seem to have had respect to the origin of the race, which the Semnones believed to have been in this dark, almost impenetrable, wood. We have many times spoken of the superstitious reverence paid by the Germanic peoples to the primitive forest. Here this feeling and its consequent practices were seen in the highest stage of development. Nothing could surpass the spirit of veneration and awe with which the ancient warrior of this wild free people entered the somber

Origin and character of the Semnonian rites.

up by his fellows, but must roll over prone on the ground until he should come to the edge of the woods. By many other marks the ceremonies were distinguished as among the most awe-inspiring and absolute of any to which the races of men have submitted themselves in the hope of appeasing the invisible powers that preside over the birth and life and death of men.

Close to the Semnones were the Langobardi, those Longobards, or Lombards, whom we shall hereafter see issuing into the historical foreground, conquering in

Northern Italy, and planting there a kingdom the reminiscence of which is preserved to the present day in the plain of

TREATY BETWEEN THE MARCOMANNI AND THE QUADI.—From the Victory Column of Marcus Aurelius.

Lombardy. In the first century of our era the people so called were few in numbers, and seem to have been surrounded on every side with nations more populous and powerful; but their fame even at this early epoch was great. Their geographical position was on the hither side of the Elbe, between Lüneburg and Magdeburg. In course of time, however, they were driven by the Romans beyond the river, and they there established themselves in what was known as the Middle Marche.

Glimpses at the place and character of the Longobards.

Next in order we may consider together several other of the Suevian tribes: the Reudigni, the Adiones, the Angli, the Varini, etc., who had their fastnesses in the German woods and among the numerous rivers. It is said by the Roman historian that all these tribes united in the worship of the Earth, to whom they gave the name of Hertha. To her they attributed various interpositions for and against the purposes and plans of men. The center of this superstition seems to have been in the Isle of Heilegeland, or possibly in the Isle of Rügen, in the Baltic. The myth was to the effect that in this island, in the center of a consecrated grove, was a chariot hidden under a vail. So sacred was this vehicle that none but the priest might touch it, lest he die. He in the performance of ceremonies might know when the goddess entered into the vail. Then the chariot might be drawn about by consecrated cows. Hereupon the people gave themselves up to joys and festivities. For the time war was forgotten, and armor was hung up in the huts. No hostile weapon might be touched. It would seem that the ceremony was in the form of a procession. At length the chariot was driven back to its sacred place. The goddess descended and was bathed in a holy lake in the island, being assisted in her

Other Suevian tribes; worship of Hertha.

ablutions by slaves. But these, when their work is done, may survive no longer—having seen the goddess Hertha. They are accordingly swallowed up in the lake.

Relations of the Hermunduri with the Romans.

In the region now occupied with the countries of Anhalt, Saxony, and part of Franconia, were the Hermunduri. In the vicissitude of things, however, they shifted their locality into Suabia. In the first century of the Christian era the Hermunduri were in amicable relations with the Romans, and were faithful to treaty stipulations. Commerce was carried on between the nation and the Roman traders. Many people of the race were wont to go into Italy and to cross back and forth without hindrance. In course of time, however, the friendly relations between the north and south were broken up, and the Hermunduri joined the Marcomanni in the war with Rome. A violent conflict ensued, and in the time of Marcus Aurelius the Romans were victorious, reducing the German confederates to submission.

The Marcomanni and the Quadi; "the van of Germany."

In Bohemia and Moravia dwelt the two great nations called the Marcomanni and the Quadi. The former were the more famous and powerful. They it was who succeeded in expelling the Boii, who had given their name to the country, from their primitive seats. The Marcomanni came originally from the head-waters of the Danube, in Würtemberg. Their name of Mark Men, that is, Border Men, was doubtless given to them from the fact of their original residence on the outskirts of Germany.

We are here in a country which Tacitus calls "the van of Germany." The Narisci and the Quadi had their territories on the Danube, in these extremes of Germania. It is thought by the Roman historian that among the two races the institution of monarchy had been more highly developed than in most of the German tribes. The hereditary principle had been recognized, and the two royal families of Maroboduus and Tudrus furnished the kings of the country. These sovereigns became at length tributary to the Romans, but were allowed to continue in authority under the patronage of the empire.

Views of Tacitus respecting the Gothini and the Osi.

On the other side of the Marcomanni and the Quadi lay the countries of the Marsigni, the Gothini, the Osi, and the Burii. It was the opinion of Tacitus that two of these tribes, the Gothini and Osi, were not Germans. To one he attributes a Gallic, and to the other a Pannonian, language. As the countries inhabited by these two peoples lay within the limits of Hungary and Silesia, it is probable that the opinion of the Roman author was correct. For we know at the present time that some of the peoples of this region are Asiatics of a later date than the German immigration. It was said that these races paid tribute freely to the Romans, and were more subservient than any of the Suevian tribes.

Glimpses of tribes between the Oder and the Vistula.

The next races enumerated were territorially distributed between the Oder and the Vistula, occupying parts of Silesia, Brandenburg, and Poland. The ancient names of the races inhabiting these regions were the Arii, the Helvecones, the Manimi, the Elysii, and the Naharvali. We might suspect the non-Germanic character of these peoples also; but their religious rites, their adherence to the practice of the Germans in celebrating their superstitions in sacred groves, and other facts would lead to the belief that they, in common with the Suevi, were of

Teutonic descent. A peculiar worship, however, is referred to these races. It is said that the meteoric exhalations which are seen on the masts of ships were thought by these people to be divine, and that the phenomena in question constituted the basis of a superstition which has been preserved to the present time in the Catholic belief in what is called the fire of Saint Elmo. Doubtless the *ignus fatuus* seen in the countries to which we here refer furnished the origin of a religion which was thought by the Romans to have some features in common with the worship of Castor and Pollux.

Character and habits of the Arii.

To the Arii, one of the nations just mentioned, has been attributed a character of extreme ferocity. They certainly had some manners and customs of a kind to warrant their reputation. In addition to herculean frames and the usual German strength and rapidity of movement, the Arii painted their bodies black. This was not meant for ornament, but for terror. Their shields were black also, and their appearance in battle is said by the Roman historian to have been infernal, to which he adds the comment that in all human battle *the eyes* are the first part subdued.

Doubtful geography and ethnography of the Roman writers.

It is clear to the discerning view that the geographical positions assigned by Tacitus and Pliny to the Germanic nations were not clearly apprehended by the writers. Geography at their epoch was hardly a science. It was believed by the most learned of the Romans that many of the peninsulas along the Baltic coast were islands. The insular character was constantly given to Sweden and Norway. It appears to have been one element of the marvelous to say, as Tacitus says of the Suiones, that they were situated "in the very ocean." If so, we find ourselves again among the Low Germans of the Baltic. It can hardly be doubted that the Suiones inhabited the Danish islands of Langland, Zealand, Laaland, Funen, and the great Scandinavian peninsula. We must note that out of these regions, adjacent to the territories of the Cimbri, the Normans came after many centuries to give the last ethnic modification to the English-speaking race.

CHAPTER LXXXV.—THE GOTHS.

HERE we are on the borders of a larger inquiry, and that is the origin of the Goths. Of all the Germanic nations, these produced the greatest effect upon the history and civilization of after times. To the Goths was reserved the destiny of overthrowing the Roman empire and of introducing a new order in Europe. It was theirs to give their own name to a style of architecture which has rivaled that of Greece and Rome in its extent, variety, and beauty. In their language was published the first book composed in a Germanic tongue, the Bible of Ulfilas. Doubtless a part of this nomenclature and this diffusion of Gothic influence into the modern world must be referred to the erroneous usage of the ancient and mediæval writers in applying the name *Gothic* to the whole Ger-

Foremost place of the Goths among the Germanic nations.

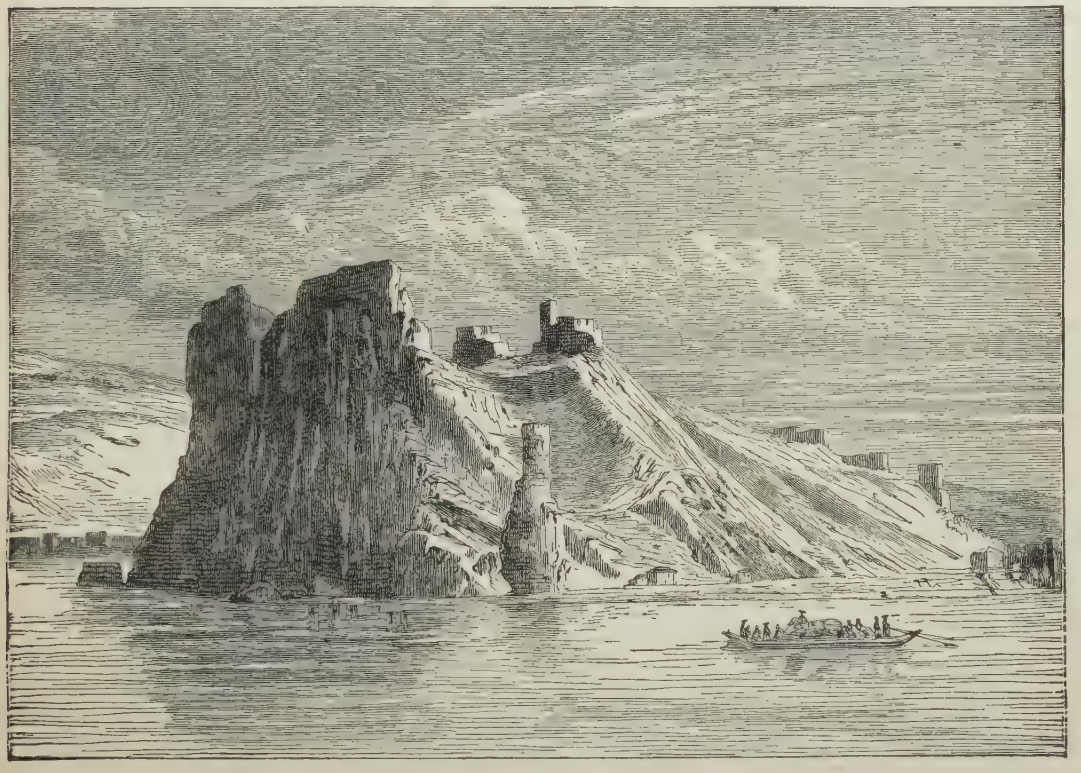
manic race; but the prominent part which the Goths played in the drama of European history, in the times of transformation from the third to the sixth century of our era, fully warrants the application of their ethnic name to the facts above referred to.

If we pass over the mythical and semi-historical epoch of Gothic history, we find the race concentrated on the Danube. We have already referred to their location in the two provinces of Further and Hither Dacia, and to their issuance from those seats on their final eruption for the conquest of Italy and Spain. Beyond this horizon there is great confusion. To this day it has not been certainly determined to which of the tribal names employed by Tacitus, Pliny, and Cæsar the Goths should be referred in their origin. At the present there is a sort of consensus to the effect that the race is to be identified with the ancient Getæ; but there have been very many other names advanced and defended as the original tribal title of the Goths.

Supposed identity of the Goths and the ancient Getæ.

The identity of the Gothic nations with the Getæ has been maintained by Jordanes and Grimm. Gibbon was of the opinion that the Goths were out of Scandinavia. Ptolemy refers the people whom he calls the Goutai to the country of Scandia. In the Anglo-Saxon *Lay of Beowulf* there is mention of the people called the Geâtas. Pliny speaks of the Gaudæ on the lower Danube—a seat not far from Dacia. Such other names as Guttones, Gothones, Gothini, Gotones, Gethæ, Guddæ, and Gothi are employed by the ancient ethnographers and historians, but always with a certain indefiniteness as to the situation and

Views of various authors respecting the origin of the race.



VIEW IN DACIA.—Deven.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

historical character of the people so called.

These divergencies of views are brought out in this connection from the fact that the situation ascribed by Tacitus to the Suiones is probably that out of which the primitive Goths, whatever may have been their name, arose. The careful ethnologist, and particularly the skillful linguist, will not have failed to notice the close analogies of the Mœso-Gothic tongues, as exhibited in the fragmentary manuscript of Ulfilas's Bible, with the Low Germanic languages. It may, therefore, be assumed that before the differences between High and Low German were so clearly drawn, as they afterwards were, in the development of the two families, the ancestors of the Goths issued from the north country, probably in proximity with the Baltic, turning thence across Germany till they were brought up in their progress by the interposition of the Danube. Here the secondary stage of their development began. Here their nationality expanded. The nations bearing the Gothic name became populous, and at the close of the fifth century finally issued in overwhelming force for the conquest of the Western empire of the Romans.

Probable movements of the Goths in the prehistoric age.

Some modern critics have complained of the loose way in which ethnic names were used by the Greek and Latin writers. It has also been pointed out in a critical spirit that the old authors were disposed to use obsolete ethnic titles in describing the nations of the north. In this way such names as *Scythian* and *Sarmatian* are frequently given to the Teutonic peoples of whom we have been speaking, and particularly to the Goths. In considering these matters, however, we should remember that two thousand years ago the ethnic lines in Europe lay much closer together, and that the differentiation of peoples then floating about in the tribal state was not nearly so complete as it afterwards became. We must bear in mind that there was a prehistoric epoch when even the Celts and the Teutonic peoples floated in the same channel; a time when the difference between them consisted in the distinction—and little more. With this allowance for historical perspective, we may disregard the errors and cross-naming of the ancient authors. In the great group of nations here before us we shall have presently, by emergence, the West Goths, the East Goths, the Vandals, and the Gepidæ; but there was a time anterior to such emergence when all of these four great nations drifted as a common tribe, speaking the common tongue to which we may very appropriately give the name of Gothic. Many other tribes, such as the Taifalæ, the Bastarnæ, the Peucini, and others, had also a common origin in the Gothic stock. It has even been conjectured that the strong race called the Alani, presently to appear conspicuous in the epoch of the Frankish ascendency, had their descent from the Gothic stirps. It is certain indeed that the small nation called the Tetraxitæ were cognate with the East and West Goths, their kinsmen.

Errors of the old writers; former community of races.

It appears that the two great divisions of the Gothic race, of whom we are now to speak, were known in their own tongue as the Greuthungi and the Tervingi. The names of East Goths and West Goths were subsequently applied to them because of their geographical situation; and these latter words passed, by a bastard-Latin change, into Ostro-

Separation of the East and West Goths; analogy with Saxons.

goths and Visigoths. We have seen in England the nomenclature of the Saxon kingdoms determined on the same principle. There were East Saxons, South Saxons, and West Saxons, according as the tribes were distributed into Essex, Sussex, and Wessex—corrupt forms of East Saxony, etc. By an odd coïncidence one of the later kings of the East

GOTHIC BODYGUARD OF TRAJAN.—From the Victory Column of that emperor.

Goths bore the name of Ostrogotha; and some have made a fanciful derivation of the name of the race from this sovereign. But to do so is to reason backward.

Looking at the question before us historically, we find that up to the third century of our era the Gothic nations bore upon the Danubian frontier of the empire, pressing hard upon that border, by invasions and incursions. For a while thereafter they sink out of sight. During the larger part of the fourth century the relations of the Gothic race with the imperial government were vacillating and precarious. Meanwhile, however, chiefly on account of their conversion to Christianity, the Visigoths, with the consent of the emperor, passed over the Danube and were permitted to settle within the limits of the Roman dominion. Such was the beginning of that cisdanubian Dacia which became the gateway through which poured all the roaring waters of Teutonism until Italy was flooded and the imperial government swept away. Meanwhile, on the eastern side, the Ostrogoths had had many relations, some of amity and others of hostility, with the Greek empire, whose seat was at Constantinople. But the Eastern Cæsars were wiser in

Historical glimpses of the Goths in the early centuries.

their generation than the Western; for on that side the Goths were not permitted to plant colonies and find vantage inside of the limits of the empire.

Of all the barbarian states around the borders of Rome the Dacian commonwealth of the Goths had for a time the most intimate relations with the imperial government. We have already referred this fact to the conversion of the Goths to Christianity. This happened at the middle of the fourth century, and was accomplished through the agency of Ulfilas and his rendition of the Bible into the Gothic language. Before this time, from about the beginning of the second century, the Dacian nations had been a source of terror to Rome. In the times of Caracalla and Alexander Severus the empire adopted the plan of quieting the Goths with an annual subsidy. It has been claimed that the next emperor, Maximin, was himself a Goth by birth. We may easily perceive how the Prætorian Guards and the other actual powers of decaying Rome might conclude that it was better to save the resources of the state for themselves and to put a foreigner into the purple, than to pay exhaustive tributes to a barbarian nation.

Intimate relations of the Gothic peoples with the Romans.

WAR COSTUMES AND MANNERS OF THE GOTHS.
Section from the Column of Marcus Aurelius.

At the middle of the third century, in the reign of Philip the Arabian, the Goths passed the Danube and laid waste the province of Mœsia. Soon afterwards the Emperor Decius perished in battle with them. Their successes at this epoch encouraged their audacity, and they began to sally forth far and wide. They even took to sea, and the clamor of their arms was heard as far as Trebizond. Soon afterwards they effected a permanent lodgment in the Tauric Chersonesus, then known as Crim, now the Crimea. In general, the Eastern Cæsars defended themselves with success. In 269 the Emperor Claudius inflicted so serious an overthrow on the nation in Dardania that an emphatic pause was put to their progress.

Outgoing of the race into foreign regions.

Meanwhile the Gothic chiefs had adopted the policy of seeking settlements south of the Danube. In the first place, the conquest made by Trajan north of that river was relinquished, and the Gothic frontier was extended to the north banks of the stream. The vent thus given to Gothic adventure was satisfied, and a period of ninety years elapsed before the peace was again seriously broken. In the fourth century the national hero of the Ostrogothic peoples arose in the person of Ermanaric.[1] He was the Charlemagne of the Gothic nations. Doubtless the story of his career and the organization of the Gothic king

Ascendency of Ermanaric; his attempts at organization.

[1] Frequently written Hermanric.

dom is in part mythical, but the period was full of important historical movements. It can not be doubted that Ermanaric extended his sway and succeeded in uniting a great part of the Germanic peoples between the Danube and the Baltic sea, and that many Slavonic tribes yielded to his rule. The whole event was similar to the episode of Charlemagne in Western Europe. There was in the case of the Ostrogothic king, however, a total lack of institutions to sustain his authority. His rule was personal, and was doubtless sustained by his commanding abilities and greatness of character. In other words, it was a head-chieftainship rather than a sovereignty in the modern sense of that term. But his ascendency showed the possibility of combining the Germanic peoples under a common rule, and foretokened the disaster which was sure to follow to the civilized peoples of the south whenever such a combination of the Teutonic powers should be permanently effected.

GOTHS SUING FOR PEACE.
Drawn by Bartoli-Bellorius, from Column of Marcus Aurelius.

About the same time Athanaric rose with like distinction among the Visigoths. But it does not appear that he ever secured so complete an ascendency among the West Gothic chiefs as his rival did in East Gothia. The position of the Ostrogothic hero brought him into immediate contact with Rome. In 365 he made a treaty with the Emperor Valens, and now for the first time the Christian religion played a part in the intercourse between the Romans and the barbarian states on the Danube.

Rise of Athanaric and the apostle of the Goths.

The story of Ulfilas, the great part which he performed in the early history of his race as the apostle of Christianity, has become well known to all students of history. He was the father at once of the religious transformation of the Gothic race and of Teutonic literature. Not the translation of the Scriptures by Alfred into the vernacular of his West-Saxon countrymen, not the rendering of the same by Luther into German, had a more marked effect upon the subsequent destinies of the Anglo-Saxon and German peoples than did the work of Ulfilas in translating the Bible into Gothic.

His life and career were the result of ethnic conditions and movements. Ulfilas was born in 311. His mother was a Christian captive out of Cappadocia, who had been carried off in 267 by a Gothic raid into that country. She was taken in marriage by a Gothic chieftain, and Ulfilas was thus born of the marriage of Asia and Europe, of the past and the future, of Old Aryan and New Aryan blood, of Christianity and paganism, of the civilized condition and barbarian

History of Ulfilas and the "Codex Argenteus."

freedom. It is doubtful whether any character, even that of Dante or Wallenstein, more happily illustrates the individual results that are likely to flow from the union of diverse bloods. The superiority of the youth led to his being sent at an early age as a hostage to Constantinople. There he became converted to Christianity, for the foundations had already been laid by his mother. He became an Arian Christian. He rose to reputation in the city of the Eastern Cæsars, and was taken under patronage by Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. By him Ulfilas was ordained as a missionary bishop and sent back to his Gothic countrymen. To them he preached, and them he led by his eloquence to the abandonment of paganism and the substitution of Christianity. His next work was the translation of the Bible into Mœso-Gothic. Of this great work modern times has received a fragmentary inheritance. In the library of Upsala a manuscript containing parts of Ulfilas's work is preserved. It is known as the *Codex Argenteus*, or Silver Manuscript, and to this we are indebted for our knowledge of the Gothic tongue as it was spoken and written at the middle of the fourth century of our era.

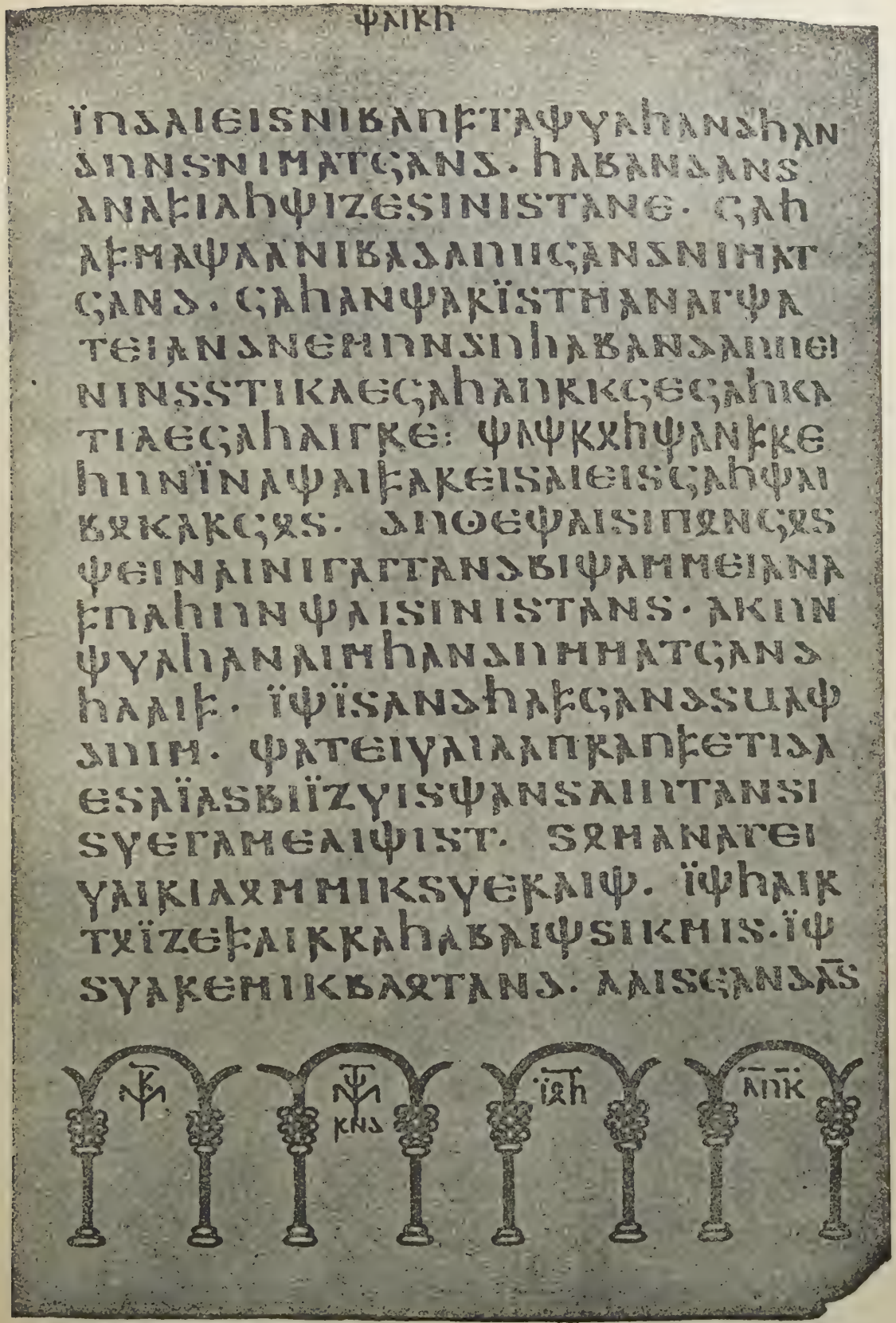
It was a seven years' struggle among the Visigoths on the left bank of the Rhine whereby Christianity was disseminated among the people. The Gothic king of the West Goths, who was perhaps that same Athanaric of whom we have spoken, was violently opposed to the innovation. He was a pagan of the pagans, and resisted Ulfilas as a disseminator of poisonous seeds among the people. It was this condition of affairs that led to the petition presented by the Gothic bishop to the Emperor Constantius for the privilege of removing the Christian Goths to the other side of the river. The petition was favorably entertained, and an emigration ensued. About the middle of the fourth century A. D. the new Gothic state of Dacia within the Danube was established. The event is conspicuous in history, and the historical and ethnical results that flowed therefrom have perhaps not ceased to operate to the present time.

Visigoths accept Christianity and remove within the Danube.

Meanwhile the new religion spread in the country beyond the Danube, and both East and West Goths became converted to Christianity as it was professed and expounded by the followers of Arius. It is not unlikely that the spread of the new doctrines among the nations was one of the principal causes of those dissensions by which the sovereignty of Ermanaric was broken up. The Visigoths were detached from their kinsmen by the same circumstances. At the same time the northern frontiers of Gothland began to be pressed by the incoming Asiatic Turanians. The Huns now struck the Gothic borders. With the death of Ermanaric the subject nations regained their independence; but this circumstance rendered them less able to beat back the Asiatics. The East and the West Goths here part company historically, and are never again united. The great body of the former remained in their seats beyond the Danube and were conquered by the Huns, but the remainder of the West Goths crossed the river and began those movements which were destined to end only with the establishment of a Visigothic kingdom below the Pyrenees. Even Athanaric was drawn into the emigration.

Spread of the new faith; East and West Goths part company.

The Romans now became alarmed. War broke out, and in 378 the emperor,



FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF ULFILAS'S BIBLE (*CODEX ARGENTEUS*), IN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, UPSALA.

Valens, was killed in a battle with the Goths at Adrianople. A few years later Theodosius the Great made peace with them, and in the same year Athanaric visited Constantinople, where he died. After the death of Theodosius the peace was broken. The Goths quarreled with the ministers of Arcadius and chose Alaric as their king. The rest is known. In a short time the great campaign began which carried the West Goths through the whole extent of Southwestern Europe. This was followed hard after by the Ostrogothic invasion of Italy. These great movements, the overthrow of the Western empire, first by the Herulians, then by the Goths, and then by the Lombards, and the subsequent establishment therein of a kingdom, first by the Ostrogoths and then by the Lombards, are themes which fill up the history of the latter part of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century of our era.

Historical vicissitudes of the Goths in the fifth and sixth centuries.

HUNS IN ITALY.—Drawn by William Claudius.

The movements of the Visigoths into Spain, and the planting of their dominion in that peninsula, were almost contem-

poraneous movements; and the conquests of the Vandals and the planting of their power in Southern Spain and in Africa are but parts of a common Germanic irruption by which the political, civil, and ethnical condition of the larger part of Southwestern Europe was completely changed.

Southwestern Europe taken by the Visigoths and Vandals.

In the foregoing sketch several references have been made to the language of the Goths as the oldest of the Teutonic tongues to take the literary form. This fact has given special interest to the fragments of Mœso-Gothic literature, and particularly to the translation of the Scriptures by Ulfilas. The oldest of our manuscripts containing fragments of this work and other Mœso-Gothic productions do not go back further than the fifth century, though the subject-matter was composed at an earlier date. At the time of which we speak, namely, while the West Goths were still resident in Mœsia, neither the language nor the people had departed by any great degree from the common type of all the Goths, and indeed of all the Germans. For this reason we may accept the fragmentary West-Gothic literature as a fair exhibition of the Teutonic languages in that stage of their evolution through which they passed from the beginning of our era to the fourth century.

Mediæval German may be known from Mœso-Gothic.

The language thus presented is of great interest, as it constitutes the most valid and certain evidence of the community of the Aryan nations. It proves beyond doubt that the great stream of Indo-European life which flowed northward out of Armenia, around the Black sea, and into Europe from the country now known as Great Russia, had an original identity in its source and character with the South-European stream which flowed into Europe by way of Asia Minor, the Ægean sea, and the southern peninsulas. Mœso-Gothic lies much nearer in its forms, its grammar, and its vocabulary to the Græco-Italic languages than do the modern tongues of Germany, Sweden, England, and the New World. It is easy to determine by the comparison of the linguistic elements present in the works of Ulfilas with those of the later Anglo-Saxon the rate of progress by which the Low German tongues of Holland and England were departing from the original Teutonic stock. In many parts of Mœso-Gothic we see how much closer the language then was to Greek and Latin than modern German is to Italian or French. The branching out of language from a common radical is thus illustrated, and the whole scheme of linguistic growth suggested in outline and character.

Common derivation of Teutonic and Græco-Italic races.

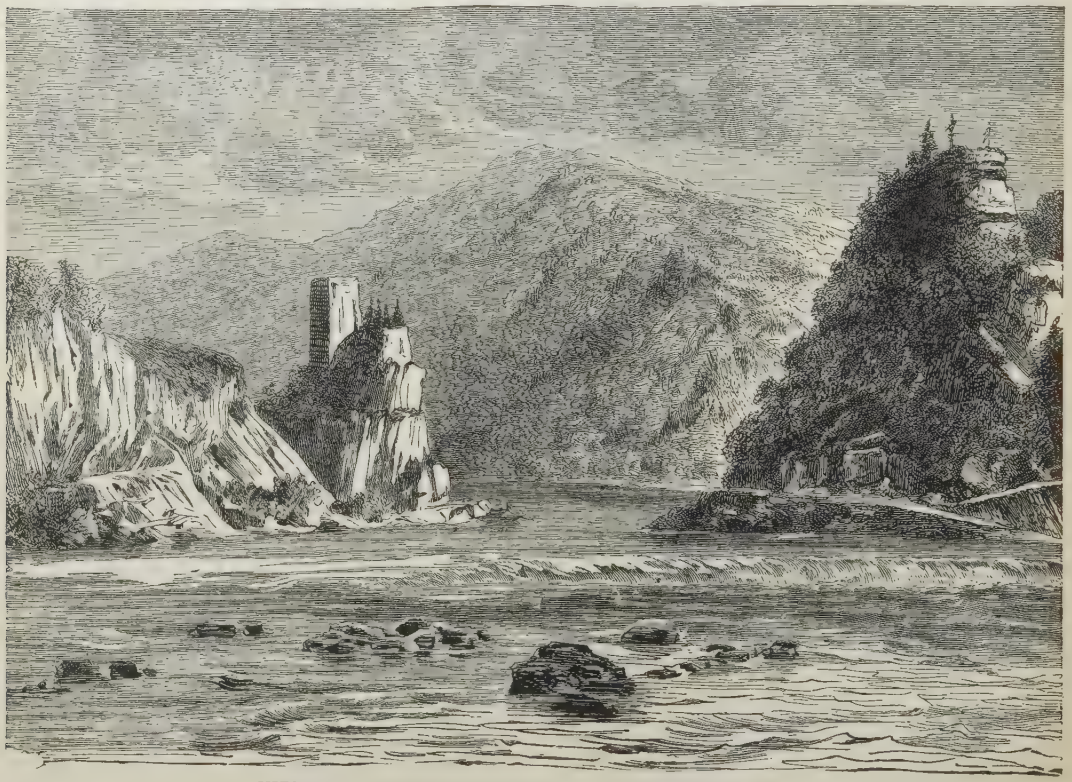
The destinies of the Gothic language were peculiar. It perished by violence and vicissitude. Hardly any other great speech of primitive Europe has left a smaller trace in the subsequent languages of the continent than has this powerful Gothic. In its original home, at least in the region where it found its first literary expression, it did not long survive the emigration of the Goths. The reader must be constantly reminded to how great a degree in all such movements the inhabitants of the Teutonic states were pressed from their seats by the incoming tide of Asiatic barbarism. Virtually the Goths were *forced* across the Danube. The residue of the race was left in the countries which it had occupied for several centuries; but the body of the language departed with the body of the nation.

Destinies of Gothic like the vicissitudes of the race.

The moving peoples were destined in their two streams to flow into Italy, France, and Spain. In the first and the last of these countries the race found lodgment. France was to them rather a land of transit than of occupation. In Italy and in Spain the Ostrogoths and the Visigoths were conquerors, but both peoples, particularly the latter, had ab-

Teutonic peoples spread over Latins and mingled therewith.

sorbed the principles of Christianity to the extent of modifying the barbarian disposition to destroy. In general, the peoples were much more civilized, much less disposed to barbarity, than were the Angles and the Saxons, those Ingavonian Germans who poured into Great Britain. The Roman Italians were reduced to subjection. A third of the lands was taken by the conquerors, but the inhabitants were not swept away as with a barbarian besom. In the same way Spain was occupied by the Visigoths. Here the destruction was less than in Italy. In both countries it was an occupation. The occupation imposed upon the Roman peoples a new ethnic element. The Teutonic family was spread over the Latin races. It is in the nature of things that when intelligence and learning are subjugated, they in turn subjugate. The vehicle of the



VIEW IN GOTHLAND.—THE STRUDEL.—Drawn by D. Lancelot.

latter conquest is language. Latin conquered Gothic in both Italy and Spain. The conquerors learned the language of the Roman and Spanish peoples. Its superiority as a vehicle of expression, and particularly as a vehicle of law and of religious conquest, asserted itself.

In a short time all the young Goths of both divisions of the race learned the superior language. It was under this process that the Mœso-Gothic tongue, as cultivated in South Dacia by Ulfilas and

the other Christian apostles, rapidly disappeared, and its place was taken by Latin. The latter language suffered, of course, much corruption in the process. It was to a certain extent Teutonized. But it nevertheless prevailed over the strong tongue of the north, and became in some sense, under the influence of the conquerors, the germinal Italian and Spanish of later ages. It thus happened that in a comparatively brief space of time not only the literary beginnings of the Gothic race, but the very language in which the same were embodied, was swept away. Nor has it to any considerable extent reäppeared —except in the incidental nomenclature of the tongues of Southwestern Europe—in any country or in any dialect.

The Latin language absorbs the speech of the north.

RUNIC ALPHABET.
From Codex No. 270, in the Library of Saint Gall.

It is one of the minor, but not less interesting, pages of mediæval history that bears the account of the preservation in the East of a small division of the Gothic race. We have mentioned above that the Tauric Chersonesus, depending from the north shore of the Black sea, better known in modern times by the name of the Crimea, was penetrated in the early part of our era by a division of the Ostrogothic race. It was in the times when Christianity was making its first inroads among the Teutonic peoples. The Crimean Goths fell under the influences of evangelism, just as did their fellow-countrymen in Dacia; but it was not Arianism, but Catholic Christianity that conquered the colony in the Tauric Chersonesus.

Preservation of a Gothic people in the Crimea.

On this account the missionary outpost thus planted was better supported by the mother Church than were the West Goths, who were regarded as heretics, and frequently treated accordingly. Rome always looked with disfavor on the progress of Visigothic Christianity in the West because of its deviation from the established standards of doctrine. But the Crimean Christians suffered no such depreciation. The situation was such as to favor permanency. As a result the Gothic language, and to some extent the Gothic institutions, were maintained in a part of the Crimea long after the Latin tongue and the Roman law had triumphed over both in the West. It is one of the surprising incidents of ethnic history that as late as the sixteenth century the Dutch traveler De Busbecq, who visited the eastern parts of Europe at the middle of that century, found the remnants of the old Gothic colony still intact in the peninsula which they had now possessed for more than a thousand years. The language had also maintained its integrity to a

Rome favors the Crimean Christians and their institutions.

considerable extent, and the institutions of the people were evidently an outgrowth of purely Gothic antecedents as modified by the influence of the Eastern empire and Greek Catholicism.

The expression of thought by characters the highest of arts.

In this connection it may prove of interest to refer to the writing of the Teutonic nations, particularly to that of the Goths, as illustrative of their condition and progress. We should not be far from a sober statement in saying that the expression of language, the pictorial representation of thought by means of written characters that may be gathered and perused, thus conveying from mind to mind the thoughts, concepts, and evolutions of the intellect and the imagination, is the highest of all human arts. The use of such a vehicle of expression marks clearly the beginning of the era of national consciousness, and foretokens the first songs and first histories produced by a race of people as the embodiment of their thought and hope concerning themselves.

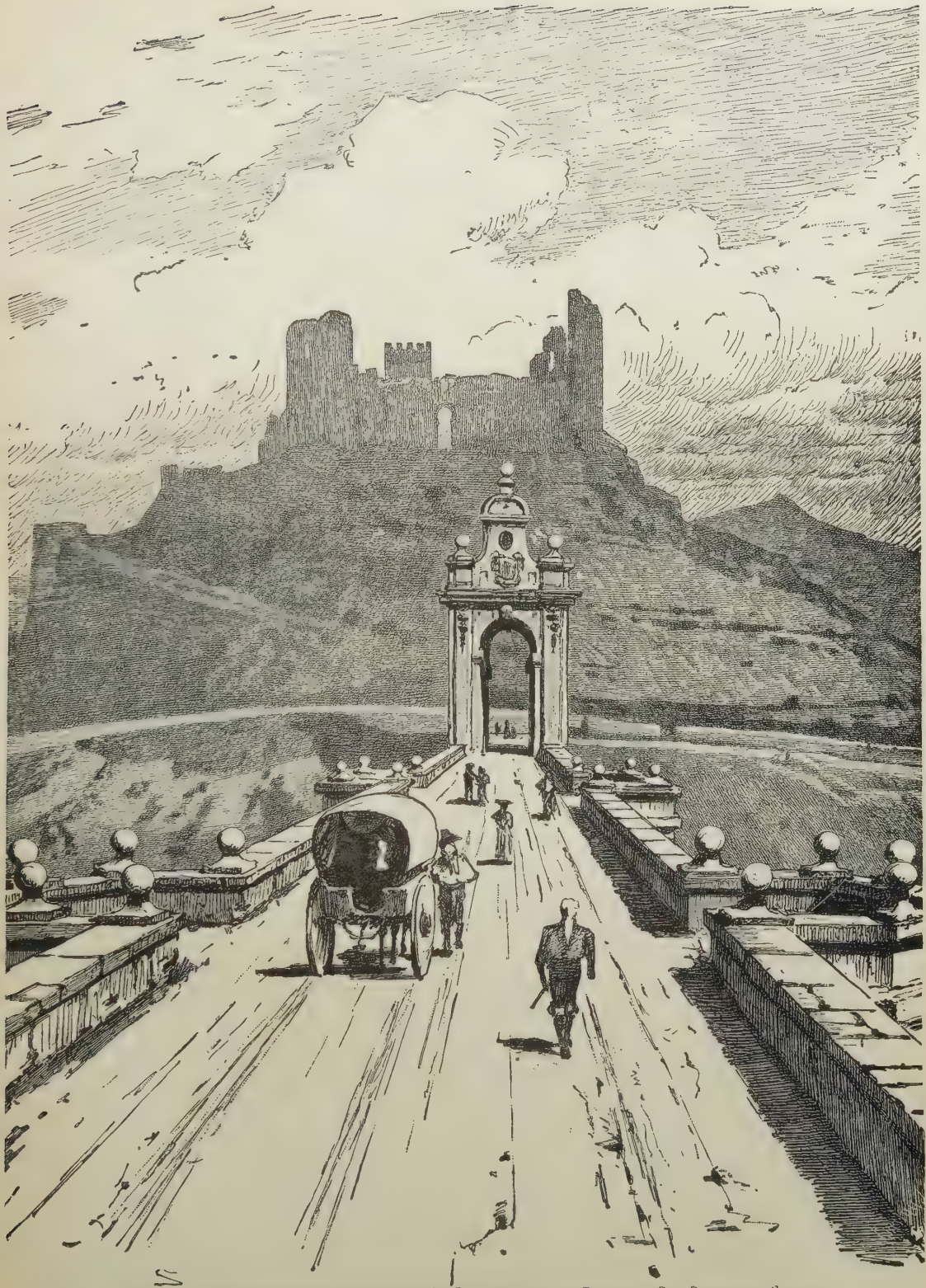
The Teutonic races had reached this stage at the time of the first excursions of the Romans into the north. It must not be understood that Ulfilas and the men of his time invented or introduced writing among the Gothic nations. Their work was rather in the nature of a revolution than an invention. Long before this time the Goths and other Teutonic peoples possessed a written language. The alphabet was made up of those characters to which scholars have given the name of *Runes*. Of this style of writing there was a threefold development: the first in Germania, the second in Scandinavia, and the third in Anglo-Saxon England. *Rune* was the name given in general in the Teutonic tongues to a letter of the alphabet. It appears that at the first this method of communicating thought was a secret. Perhaps the priests desired to keep it so. In Anglo-Saxon the word *rûn* means a secret. The verb *rŷnan* signifies to whisper. It is likely that the old pagan lore was whispered from ear to ear, and that the characters in which it was recorded were called *runa*. Certain it is that such characters are plentifully scattered among the archæological remains of all the nations of Northwestern Europe. As to the character of the letters, they had much of that square and uncial form which was peculiar to all the primitive alphabets. The whole history of the transformation of alphabetical writing may be summed up in the change from the rectilinear to the curvilinear character.

Ulfilas did not invent but perfected; the Runes.

Such an alphabet, strictly Runic in origin and development, was in use among the Goths before the time of Ulfilas. It was this which he employed as the basis of that style of writing which he introduced. His work consisted essentially in the introduction, or substitution, of the Latin alphabet for the Runic characters. A few of the sounds of the language, however, could not be well represented by the Latin characters. Such was the letter *thorn* (þ), equivalent to the Greek *thēta* (θ). To supply this deficiency the Gothic character was retained. So also was the *wen* (ƿ), equivalent to the modern *w*. The Gothic character *edh* (ð) was also retained, not only in Mœso-Gothic, but in Anglo-Saxon, as the equivalent of *dh*. As for the rest, the Latin letters were substituted in the Gothic literature; and the same peculiarities mark the development of the Scandinavian tongues as of Anglo-Saxon.

The Goths adopt Latin letters but retain some Runes.

We have spoken of the rapid union



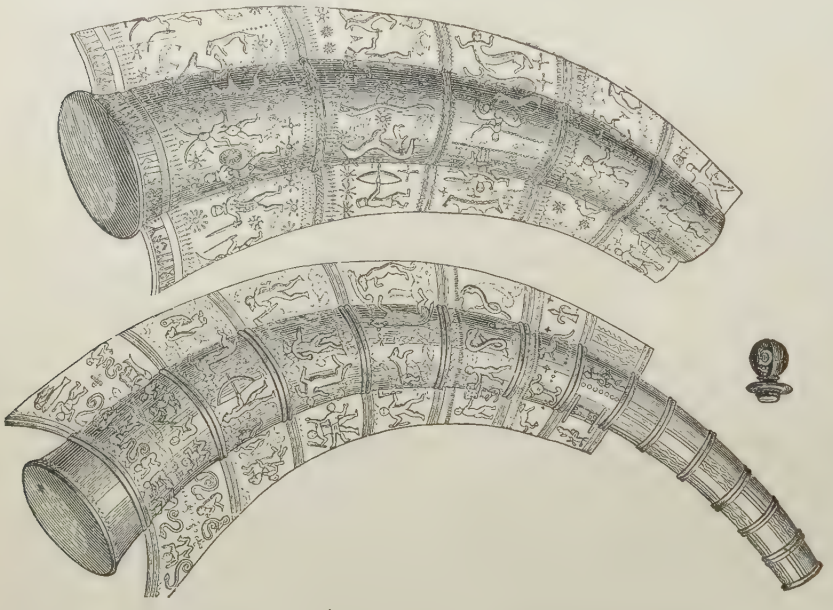
SEAT OF THE VISIGOTHIC LEGISLATION.—Ruins of the Castle of San Servando, Toledo.

of the Gothic nations, after their departure from the Danube, with the Italian and Spanish Romans. It is in this respect that the human river differs from the river of geography. The stream does not always seek out and find for itself a new valley and a new channel, but it frequently becomes confluent with other streams already existing. The old geographers, ignorant of the science of the earth, were wont to draw their rivers so as to run into some other with which they were acquainted or of which they may have chanced to hear. The first maps show this device as a means of concealing ignorance. The ethnographic map would present many such departures from the geographical method. We have seen how the Italians and Spaniards of the modern ages are classified as branches and developments of the Latin race—this notwithstanding the fact that they have swallowed up the powerful Gothic streams which flowed into Italy and Spain at the close of the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century. It may be frankly admitted that it is on the basis of language as much as on the basis of blood that the ethnological classifications of modern times have been constructed.

Ethnic streams reverse the method of geography.

In the foregoing sketch of the Goths we have departed entirely from the narrative of Tacitus. It was impossible that that truthful and critical author should foresee—living as he did from 55 to 117 A. D.—the peculiar developments upon which the German nations were to enter. He could not predict the great Gothic evolution, and we should not, therefore, expect to find in his pages the premonitions of the Teutonic expansion on the Danube, and the irruption from that quarter into the empire.

Imperfect views of Tacitus respecting the Goths.



GOLDEN DRINKING HORNS OF THE GOTHS, INSCRIBED WITH RUNES.
Found in Schleswig.

The same may be said of the Frankish nations, upon whose history we are now to enter. But before passing to the consideration of the Istavonian tribes on the Rhine, it will be proper to point out that feature of Gothic civilization which presented the race at its best estate. This was the Visigothic evolution in Spain. The particular element in the national life of the people in that country had respect to the development and institution of law. Among all the Teutonic peoples the Visigoths had the largest success in the institution of a regular form of gov-

Outlines of the Visigothic evolution in Spain.

ernment. The constitution and the statutes of the race have been cited in all subsequent ages as models of excellence. Advocates of Christianity have held up the example of the Visigoths in their institutional development as an example of what the conversion of the race to Christianity was able to effect in substituting for the personal legislation and unsystematic laws of the pagan Goths a new code, regular and general in its character.

Relation of Christianity to the enlightenment of the Goths.

No doubt the improvement of the Visigothic race by its conversion to Christianity had much to do with the institution of the great councils of Toledo, and with the superiority of the lawmaking processes which the Spanish Goths there developed; but the real success of the Visigoths in improving their constitutions and jurisprudence was on the historical and ethnical rather than on the religious side. Their long contact with Rome—even before their migration began—had led them to absorb the Roman principles of civil polity. They became acquainted with that vast and regular constitution which the Romans had created through centuries of experience and trial. Christianity was the channel of intercourse through which this acquaintance was chiefly acquired. The Goths once having made themselves familiar with the constitution and laws of Rome, could but admire and imitate those formulæ in the creation of new statutes and rules of administration for themselves. It was from this circumstance that the Visigothic legislation at the councils of Toledo was of so high a character and contrasted so favorably with the partial, personal, and inadequate lawmaking of the other Teutonic races.

CHAPTER LXXXVI.—THE FRANKS AND THE VANDALS.

THE name of Franks was not applied in Cæsar's time to any of the German nations. Though he traversed the regions subsequently occupied by the peoples of this name, he used other titles for the tribes which he here encountered. The same may be said of Tacitus and Ptolemy. Though they discussed the Istavonian Germans, they do not use the name of Franks as appellative of any of the tribes of the Rhine. It is the opinion of Grimm that the word is of comparatively recent date. It is known, however, to have been in use as early as the reign of Aurelian, at the middle of the third century. Doubtless the name Franci was adopted by these peoples from its meaning of frank, or free. Since the nations so called dwelt on the western and northwestern frontier of Germany, and since this line was the one most assailed by the Romans, the people came naturally to call themselves Franci, for the reason that they had maintained their freedom.

The name Frank unknown in the classical ethnography.

At the first these nations dwelt on the right bank, that is, the German side, of the river Rhine. Afterwards, however, they prevailed on the left bank, between the Rhine and the Meuse, and it was here that the name Ripuarians, or People of the Bank, was applied to them. The country thus occupied within the

Contact of Romans with the Franks on the Rhine.

natural limits of Gaul extended from Alsace to the sea. In the year 240 the Catti, of whom we have already spoken, crossed the Rhine at Mentz. Among these people the General Postumus recruited his army and succeeded in leading the Germans against their countrymen, driving them back across the river and making his capital at Colonia. But at length the lands of the Ubii and Tungri, extending from Ardennes to the Rhine and the Meuse, were occupied by the Frankish nation, who took the name of Ripuarian.

HLODWIG BECOMES A CHRISTIAN.
Drawn by F. E. Wolfram.

About the same time the Salian Franks also crossed the river and occupied the country southwest of the Lower Meuse. Near the close of the third century they are found engaged in naval warfare along the coast of Gaul. In 358 the Emperor Julian allotted the district of Toxandria to them. From this time forth it was common to find the Roman armies of the north replenished with Frankish soldiers. Other prominent men of the nation rose to rank at the Roman court. The frontier line of the empire on the north began to recede. In the beginning of the fifth century a great battle was won by the Franks at Cam-

brai, and their standards were advanced to the river Loire. The Salians now fixed their capital at Dispargum, the modern Disiburg, just as the Ripuarians had fixed their seat of government at Cologne. Their friendliness to the Romans was such that they henceforth for a time constituted a barbarian bulwark against barbarism. The invasion of the Huns under Attila was repelled at Chalons mostly by the Franks in the Roman army.

The Salians become a bulwark against barbarism.

It was the Salians rather than the Ripuarians who extended their conquests into Gaul and laid the foundations of France; that is, Frankland. Their sovereign, Hlodwig, better known by his Latin name of Clovis, was the king under whom the Salians became masters of Northern Gaul. Meanwhile the Ripuarians remained in their seats on the Upper Rhine. The latter became Christianized at an earlier day than did the Salians. The student of history will recall the fact that Clotilda, wife of Clovis, was a Christian, and that in his campaign and battle Hlodwig abandoned the wild goddesses whom he had worshiped in barbarism, and appealed to Clotilda's God to give him the victory.

They establish a Frankish kingdom under Hlodwig.

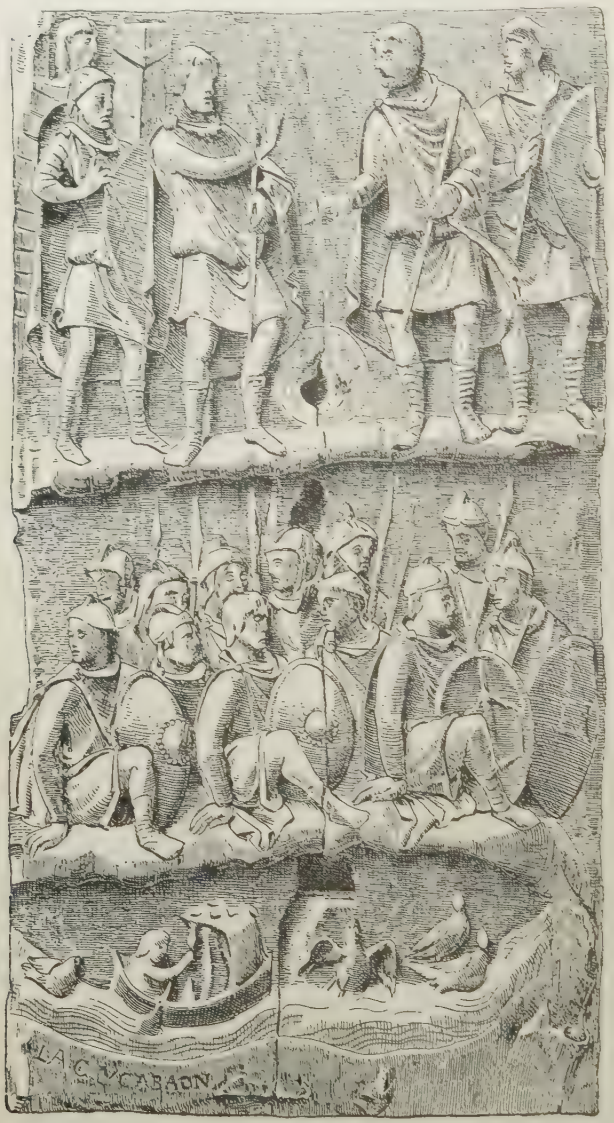
The family of Clovis constituted what was called in German the Merwing House, that is, the Merovingian, a name which was applied to the first German dynasty ruling in France. Meanwhile an Oriental, or Eastern, division of the Frankish race drifted back into Germania, and gave their name to the country ever afterwards known as Franconia. There was thus an Eastern as well as a Western dominion established by the Frankish adventurers who had planted themselves along the Rhine.

Beginnings of Franconia; the three Gothic kingdoms.

The general career of the Franks thus making their way into Gaul and fixing their barbarian kingdom on the ruins of the Roman ascendency, was very similar to that which the Visigoths planted in Spain, and the Ostrogoths in Italy. Of the three Gothic kingdoms, that in Italy lasted from 493 until 553 A. D., embrac-

ANCIENT ART WORK OF THE FRANKS.—IVORY BOOK COVER OF THE NINTH CENTURY.
From the original in the Louvre.

ing the three reigns of Theodoric the Great, Totila, and Theias. Euric, King of the Visigoths, ended the Roman dominion in Spain in 471, and the country remained a Visigothic power until 711, when King Roderic, called the last of the Goths, fell in the battle of Jerez—a period of two hundred and forty years. In France the Merovingian House was in the ascendant from the accession of Clovis, in 481, to the overthrow of the dynasty by the Carlovingian Pepin I, in the year 752, a period of two hundred and seventy-one years. These epochs of ascendency in the three countries represented the first period of German history in the West.



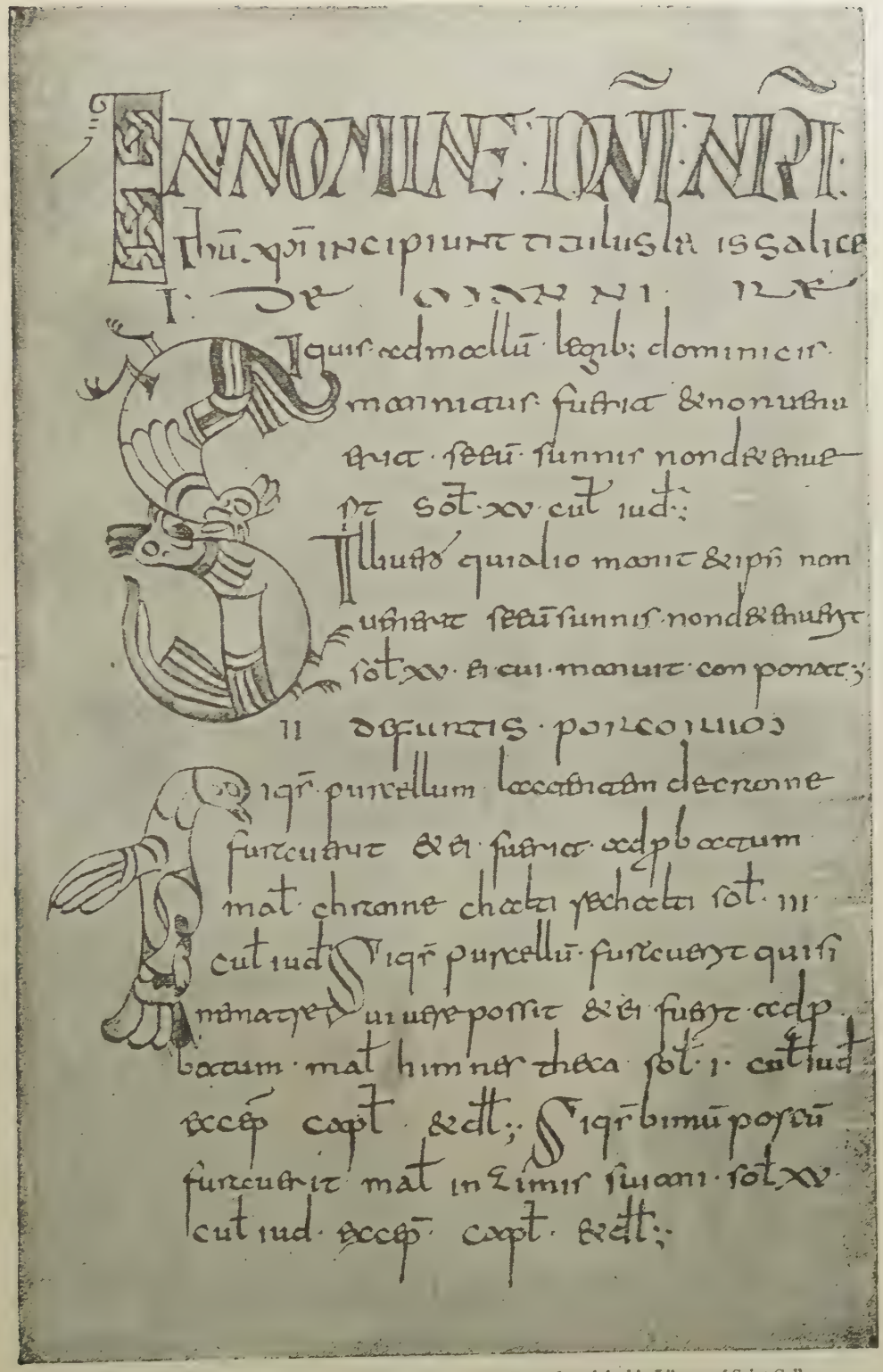
FRANKISH WARRIORS, ON IVORY COVER OF BOOK, THOUGHT TO BE THE WORK OF A FRANKISH ARTIST.
From original in the Louvre.

We have already seen how the two Gothic divisions in Italy and Spain were absorbed in the Latin race. The same thing may be said to have happened in France. The Franks, though conquering, the Merovingians, though predominant in the political life of the people for nearly three centuries, suffered a fate very similar to that which their Gothic countrymen had experienced in the south. They modified the Latinized Gaulish race already in possession of the country, but were themselves amalgamated therewith; and out of the amalgamation arose that mediæval France, and at a later period the French people of the modern epoch. The whole movement may be regarded as an infusion of the new, vital barbaric blood into the veins of races which were growing old in the countries west of the Rhine and between the Baltic and the Mediterranean.

The Franks absorbed by the Latinized Gauls.

It is not our purpose to trace the course of historical events during the ascendency of the House of Pepin in primitive France, or to describe the transformation which occurred in the political life of the country with the accession of Charlemagne. The personal character of the Frankish race was almost identical with that of the other West Germanic nations, and their institutions likewise

Personal character and ethnic traits of the Franks.



FACSIMILE OF A PAGE OF THE *LEX SALICA*.—From the original in Library of Saint Gall.

were of the common Teutonic pattern. The Franks are described as physically a powerful people, having the fierce looks and the audacity of countenance peculiar to all the German tribes. They were said to have a scowl about the brows which made them terrible to look upon when in anger. They had also the gleaming blue eyes and light red hair which the races of the south always ascribed to the East Gauls and the Germans. Their limbs were powerful, and their stature so great as to dwarf the Romans in comparison. They wore their hair so long, and it was of so fine a quality, as to be greatly in demand as an article of commerce in the cities of the south. The fashionable ladies of Rome, in the later days of the empire, bought it with avidity as an ornament of the head.

Weaponry of the race; "Lex Salica" and "Lex Ripuaria."

It has been said that the weapons, offensive and defensive, of the Frankish Germans were somewhat peculiar to the race. The *franca*, a javelin tipped with iron to be hurled at the enemy or used in close encounter as a spear, is thought by some to have given the name to the race. The battle-ax was called the *francisca*. The Franks had the same heroic qualities which were possessed by many of the free tribes of Germany. The *Siegfried Saga* nearly all related to the victorious progress of the Frankish nation. In these legend, tradition, myth, and ancient ethnic story are blended with the beginnings of authentic history. To the Franks also are ascribed the beginnings of the constitution and jurisprudence of the French race. From them was derived the *Lex Salica*, or Salic law, and also the *Lex Ripuaria*, somewhat later in its date. These fundamentals of the Frankish statutes of the Merovingian times refer in their origin to the fifth and sixth centuries.

The Salic laws incorporated in modern legislation.

There are also principles in the Salic law which were formulated before the approach of Christianity. In such parts of the Frankish constitution there is no evidence that a feudal nobility or a system of land tenure by fief had any existence in the earliest ages of the Frankish kingdom. The only grades of people referred to in these earlier parts of the constitution are the king, the free Frank, and the slave—the latter a prisoner of war. The Salic law in course of time gained a great influence in the statute-making and jurisprudence of mediæval France. Some of its principles were incorporated and reïncorporated with the constitutions of the kingdom, and some of its provisions have continued vital to the present day. Such, for a single example, is that law called by preëminence the Salic law, prevalent in France and in several other Western kingdoms, whereby women are excluded from the descendants' rights as it respects political power and land-ownership by primogeniture.

Myth and tradition of the Merovingian aristocracy.

Many efforts have been made to find in the usages of the Franks the evidences of that aristocratic organization which was destined to take French society in its clutches and to seek its antecedents in the immemorial usages of the race. But such efforts are futile. The officers of the Franks were not such by hereditary descent but by election, and their choice to the principal places in the nation did not alter their rank as citizens. It has been claimed that even the Salic law in its first intent has furnished but a narrow basis for the claim advanced in royal houses in favor of the precedence of male-born children to the inheritance of the crown. It was believed or assumed in French society as

late as the last century that the nobility of the kingdom were the lineal descendants of the family of Clovis. It was also held that the members of this family were distinguished in their physiognomy and bearing from the peasantry of the third estate. But critical inquiry has failed to show any ground for such assumption. The noble houses have been

Gradual and labored ascendency of the House of Clovis.

ing out westward from the valley of the Rhine and extending its supremacy to the western sea. It was a long time before the right of the race, as set forth in the claims of the Merovingian and Carlovingian princes to rule France, was acknowledged. The consolidation of the Frankish nations and the gradual

NORMAN SOLDIERS OF THE ELEVENTH CENTURY—TYPES.

so much multiplied and the various families so much diluted with foreign blood, that any and all distinctions of feature and bearing which may have existed at an earlier age have long since passed away, so that the claim of the noblesse, in the age of Louis XVI, that they were of a different descent from the body of the French nation had no other basis than arrogance and pride.

We thus see the Frankish race spread-

suppression of feudalism, which was only the developed form of the clan-life of the Germans, were not effected until the reign of Louis XI, a short time before the discovery of America.

It can never be known with certainty in what proportions the Franks and the other pre-occupying peoples of Gaul were combined in the formation of the French nation. Here, again, we have the

Problem of race elements and proportions in the French.

same problem presented which we have considered in the absorption of the Visigoths in the Spanish peninsula, and of the Ostrogoths with their rivals, the Longobards, in Italy. On the whole, it is safe to assume that the percentage of German blood, of German life, and German institutions contributed to the formation of the new race in France was greater than the percentage of Gothic influence in Spain and Italy. But the original Gallo-Roman population continued to be more numerous than the conquering Franks, and with their Latin language and institutions asserted themselves more and more until the Latin character became predominant in the new French nation. The same process was revived in the case of the Normans, who, issuing from the Baltic coasts, took possession of Neustria in the ninth century, and who, notwithstanding their complete ascendency in that country, nevertheless, in the course of a single century, accepted the language, the customs, and the institutions of the subject Latin race.

The Franks gave their name to France; the Normans, theirs to Normandy. So also the Burgundians, of whom we are now to speak, contributed their ethnic title to the country of which they possessed themselves. Burgundy lay between Champagne and Alsace on the east, Auvergne on the south, and the Limousin and Touraine on the west. It passed through the stages of duchy and kingdom on its way to a consolidation with the state of France. The Burgundians, bearing the ancient name of Burgundi, were out of Germany. Their original territory lay between the Oder and the Vistula. From this seat they were driven by the nation of the Gepidæ. On their expulsion they settled between the Mayne and the Neckar. At the beginning of the fifth century they joined their fortunes with other Suevian tribes, the Alans and the Vandals, crossed the Rhine into Gaul, and, under command of their king, Gundicar, penetrated the country of the Saône and the Rhone. In course of time Geneva and Lyons were the successive capitals of this district.

Origin and historical haps of the Burgundians.

To battle with the Franks was the characteristic of the first century of the independent existence of the Burgundians. In 436 Gundicar was slain by the Huns. His son Gunderic was an ally of the Romans against Attila. Gundebald, one of the succeeding kings, was the author of the early Burgundian legislation, which was summed up under the title of *Lex Gundebalda*. Like the West Goths, the Burgundians at an early age embraced Arian Christianity.

In 554 that King Gondemar was slain by the Franks, who henceforth asserted their supremacy in Burgundy. The king just mentioned was the last of the old Burgundian dynasty. When after the death of Charlemagne, disintegration became the order of the day, Boson, a Burgundian chieftain, husband of Ermengarde, who was the daughter of the Emperor Louis II, refounded the independent kingdom of Lower Burgundy. But in 882 Charles the Fat restored the Frankish ascendency over the country. Afterwards, by a revolution, Upper Burgundy and Lower Burgundy were united in the kingdom of Arles, and this, in 1033, was united to Germany by Conrad II. Afterwards the country became the countship of Franche Comte, and this was absorbed by Charles the Bold, who stood at once in his day for the independence of Burgundy and the maintenance of the old

Movements whereby Burgundy fell to France.

feudal liberties of France. He yielded to his rival, Louis XI, and lost both his claims and his life in the battle of Nancy, in 1477.

Emergence and ethnic descent of the Vandals.

Another of the outgoing Germanic nations were the Vandals, who in like manner gave their name to a country which it has ever since retained. Far down in Spain lies the province of Andalusia, manifestly *Vandalusia*, if the word had not lost its initial. According to Tacitus, the Vandali were assigned to a portion of the country which associated them with the Low Germans; and it has been agreed by modern scholars that they were allied with the Goths. Their ancient seats appear to have been in Brandenburg and Pomerania. In the second century they came against the borders of Bohemia, where the mountains now called Riesen-Gebirge took their name. In 271 they were defeated in battle by Aurelian. The conditions of peace were that they should annually furnish two thousand confederates for service in the Roman army.

OLD HIGH GERMAN TYPES—SIGURD AND BRUNHILD.

In the early part of the fourth century the Vandals were overthrown by the Goths, and in their desperate condition they sought and obtained from Rome the privilege of settling in the country of Pannonia. The Western empire was now in a condition of decline. In 406 the Vandals crossed the Rhine and plunged into Gaul. Stilicho, the general of Honorius, is said to have been of Vandal extraction. Loyal as he was, he was accused of sympathizing with his

countrymen, and having procured their invasion of Gaul. This was the *gravamen* of the charges against him. A battle of the Vandals with the Franks resulted in a loss of two thousand of their warriors and their king. In 409 Gunderic lead the nation across the Pyrenees. There were two divisions of the invaders, one of which occupied Galicia and the other Andalusia. For twenty years the war was kept up between the Vandals on the one side, and the Romans, Goths, and Suevians, by turns, on the other. It appears that the division of the Vandals which had first entered Galicia passed over into Andalusia and joined their countrymen in the occupation of that province.

They make their way to the southwest and conquer Spain.

Twenty years later the Vandals were invited over into Africa. Gunderic perished, and the power of the nation passed into the hands of his illegitimate half-brother Genseric, whose name is most associated with the destinies of his race. He is represented as having been short of stature, limping in his gait, having little of the heroic about his person, but possessing greatness of character and filling his life with heroic deeds. He put himself at the head of eighty thousand men who composed his nation, and on the invitation of Boniface, Count of Africa, passed over into that country and took possession of a large part of the coast. All the cities of Roman Africa, with the exception of Carthage, Hippo, and Cirta, were taken by the Vandals in 430. The siege of Hippo was unsuccessful. In 435 the Emperor Valentinian III made peace with the Vandal nation, conceding to them the African province which had belonged to Rome, with the exception of Carthage and a small strip of adjacent territory. Thus in the south we see the planting of a German state by tribes which had been thrown into migration and conquest by the pressure of the barbarians on the east of Germania proper.

Northern Africa also becomes a Vandal state.

We may now contemplate the German race thus thrust out into the countries bordered on the west by the Rhine and the Danube, the separation of the same into tribes and nations, and the gradual differentiation of the Teutonic family into three great families of High Germans, Low Germans, and Scandinavians. We have thus far spoken of the High Germanic evolution, and have considered it in the epoch extending from the third century B. C. to the eighth century of our era. In the later developments of the race, we have not paused to look at the conservative Germanic element which remained in ancient Germania, gradually growing toward the form and substance of the modern German people, but rather have considered the emigrant portion of the race as it broke over the Danube and the Rhine, dividing into different channels, one of which overflowed Italy, another Spain, and another France.

Summary of the topics thus far considered.

Meanwhile the greater ethnic process of dividing the Low German family from the High Germans was going on. In all the country which coasted the Baltic and the North sea the Ingavonian tribes were passing into a new type of character. We may now consider them as separated from the parent stock, and planted in the maritime regions and low marsh country of the north, about the estuaries of the great rivers which roll down out of Germania and Northern France and Holland into the inhospitable waters of the Baltic and the North sea.

CHAPTER LXXXVII.—OLD NORTH GERMAN TRIBES.

HERE it was that a Teutonic people, called in general in modern times by the name of Dutch, took their rise. This people has had for its ancestors several of the tribes whom we have already named. The Cimbri, the Suiones of Tacitus, and many other Germanic nations furnished the material out of which the Dutch states of the north were peopled. We are here, however, more concerned to note the features of ethnic departure between the Low and the High German divisions of the race. These were, in the first place, physical. That is, the Dutch from a very early period took on a physical character easily distinguished by broad lines from the primitive nations beyond the Rhine.

Influence of habit and climate on physical characteristics.

The physical peculiarities of a people must be referred in a large measure to climatic environment. Habit has also much to do with determining the material characteristics of a given family of men. But habit in its turn is for the most part traceable to the exigencies of climate. We must in the ages now before us think of the pressing out of the Germanic races from the bottom of that territorial cylinder into which they had been driven by the piston of barbarism.

There were three vents to relieve the pressure in the bottom of the vessel. One was by way of the Danube; another by way of the Rhine; and a third by the way of the North sea coast and the Baltic. The Gothic nations found their exit by the first named vent; the Franks and the Vandals, by the second; and the Dutch, by the third. At the time of which we speak the Baltic coast beyond the mouths of the Rhine was known by the general name of Frisia. It was from this part of the country that the Frisians issued, and not only they, but also the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes. It is thought that Jutland and Angleland still mark in modern geography the seats of the primitive barbarians who took to the sea in their boats and ultimately overran England. The Saxons were further from the coast, but joined the movement which carried barbarian invasions into the Hollowlands and finally into Britain.

Environment of the Jutes and place of the Saxons.

Holland itself was in the first place filled with these adventurers. There is no part of the world in which the land and the water are more mixed together than on this northern coast. The land fights for its existence, and the sea for its supremacy. The mouths of all these northern rivers are estuaries, which are overflowed when the tide sets in from the sea or exposed as dry land when the tide is out. It is also a region of storms and excessive tempests. The Baltic is lashed landward by the howling blasts that lift high the sea and fling it upon the land. To contend with such a situation required all the courage and audacity of man.

Contention of sea and land on the coast of Holland.

But the old Ingavonian barbarians faced this country and took it. They planted themselves in settlements that were exposed to the wrath of every element which has for its work destruction. Not only so, but the barbarian

The Ingavonian barbarians become the hawks of the sea.

DUTCH TYPES.—From *Magazine of Art.*

habit, the passion of battle, the vacillation from one locality to another, and the love of spoil were still uppermost in the character of the Low Germanic peoples that drifted along this bleak, terrible coast. In adventure, they took to the water. They became the hawks of the sea. They were pirates, hunters of men, drifting far out in their open boats to even greater bulk than that of the ancestral stock. Under the rude and foggy climate, changing ever and anon to blasts of cold and snow, the bodies of the people became thick and short. The athletic majesty of form which the primitive Germans had borne from the times of Cæsar and Tacitus was modified under the influence of the sea and the

DIKES OF THE HOLLOWLANDS.

on a stormy sea that would have engulfed an argosy.

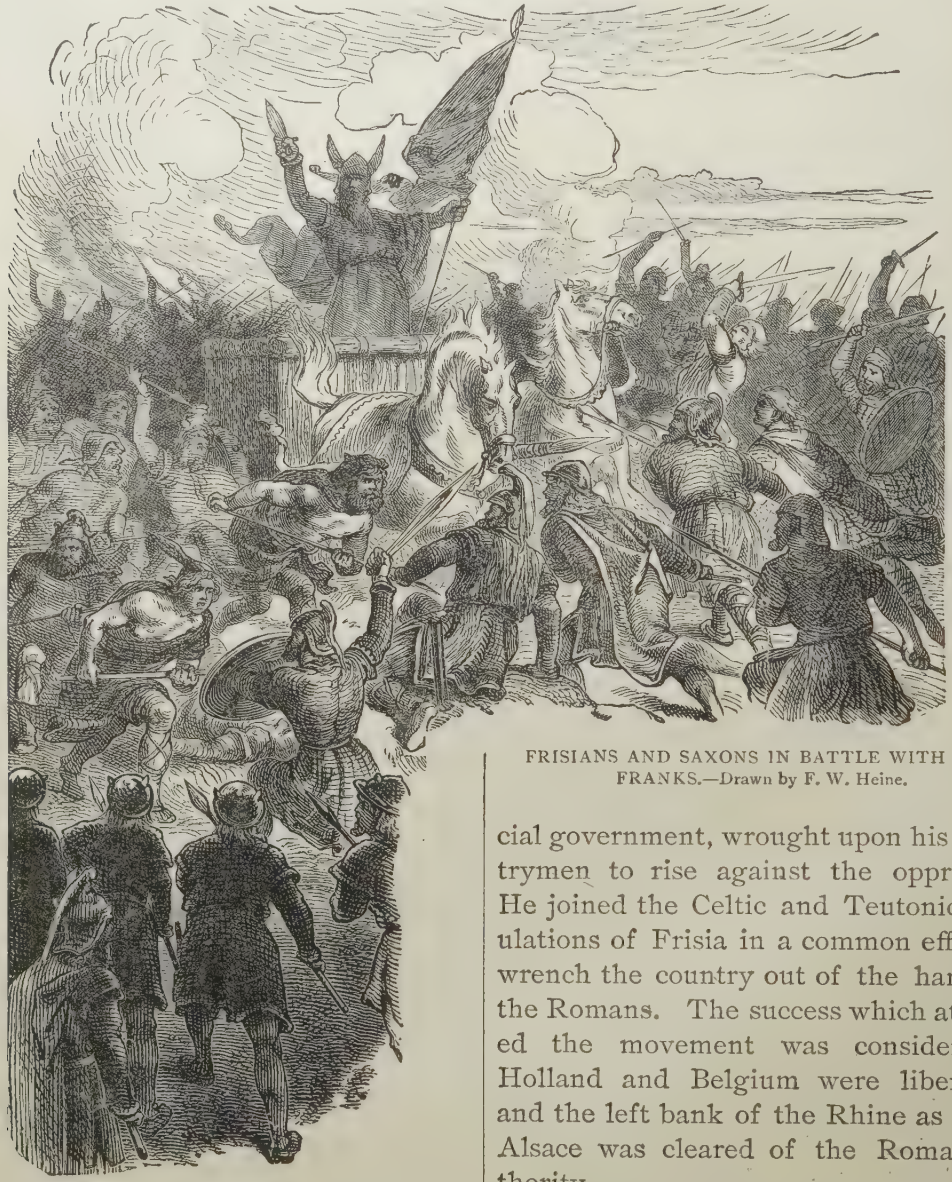
Meanwhile those influences of climate of which we spoke above began to modify the physical character, and perhaps the passions, of these Dutch sea kings. It can not be said that they dwindled from the stalwart bodily form which they had in the German woods. If they sank to a lower stature, they spread lowlands, and passed into that thickset and coarse type of personality which has become proverbial in all history as the physical expression of the Dutch and the Anglo-Saxons.

Modifications in the form and features of the Dutch.

In the times of Cæsar the country between the Rhine and the Scheldt was occupied by the Belgæ, whom the Roman historian terms the bravest of all the Gauls. In the primitive ages it can not

Place and condition of the Belgæ and Batavi.

be doubted that the country was Celtic in its population. The Belgians were so regarded, but it was already observed that they differed not much from the Germans who dwelt beyond the Rhine.



FRISIANS AND SAXONS IN BATTLE WITH THE FRANKS.—Drawn by F. W. Heine.

Here also dwelt the Batavi, who were still more clearly Teutonic in their origin and character. After the conquest of Gaul by the Romans the Belgic peoples were reduced to a friendly relation. In the year 69 A. D., Claudius Civilis, a patriot of the Netherlands, having learned in the Roman armies the actual condition of the empire, marking the wrongs which both Gauls and Germans had suffered at the hands of the provincial government, wrought upon his countrymen to rise against the oppressor. He joined the Celtic and Teutonic populations of Frisia in a common effort to wrench the country out of the hands of the Romans. The success which attended the movement was considerable. Holland and Belgium were liberated, and the left bank of the Rhine as far as Alsace was cleared of the Roman authority.

The Batavians yield to Rome; conquest by the Franks.

At length the General Cerealis was sent to the north and began to restore the imperial sway. Claudius Civilis was obliged to yield, and the Batavians again submitted to the conquerors. The old

OFF THE COAST OF HOLLAND.—ON THE EBB.—From *Magazine of Art*

frontier between Gaul and Germany was restored. The next agitation of the country was caused late in the third century by the invasion of the Franks. Two centuries later Clovis overran the Netherlands, and all of South Holland yielded to his sway. After the death of Clovis the Saxons, in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, planted themselves in Overyssel and Drenthe. They took up arms against the Franks, and, backed by the Frisians, maintained the struggle during the whole of the Merovingian ascendency in France. Nor did these northern warriors yield to the Frankish generals until they were at last reduced by the genius and prowess of Charlemagne.

The next great event in the destinies of the northern race was the conversion of the people to Christianity. This happened in the reign of Dagobert I. In battle with the Frisians and Saxons at the town of Wiltenberg, the Franks were victorious. This was at the close of the first quarter of the seventh century. Wiltenberg became Utrecht, the capital of the Netherlands. This was the physical institution of Christianity, but the moral reform was wrought a half century later by Willebrod, Bishop of Northumbria. He operated in the Netherlands under the authority of Pepin of Héristal. Limburg, North Brabant, Utrecht, and other provinces were one by one pervaded by the new religion, and the people were brought over to the Christian standard. After the death of Willebrod, Wolfram of Sens took up the work, and at the middle of the eighth century he was succeeded by Saint Boniface, who was called the apostle of the Germans. It was at Dokkum, in Friesland, that he was brought to martyrdom while preaching among the heathen. No people ever more stoutly resisted the impact of Christianity, none ever more stoutly maintained the ancient paganism than did these barbarians of the country lying along the North sea and the Baltic. The student of history will quickly recall how under the direction of Wittekind, in the age of Charlemagne, the Low Germans, particularly the Saxons, still stoutly resisted the progress of the Christian monks, and how it required all the power of Charlemagne's governmental and military machinery to bring them at last into nominal subjection to the gospel. His plan of enforcing baptism on the natives is one of the most spectacular episodes of the Middle Ages.

The Low Germans are converted to Christianity.

Charlemagne also imposed on the Hollanders the French system of land-ownership. The country was parceled out among dukes and counts. A portion of the land was also set aside for the bishops of the Church. Brabant became a dukedom. Flanders, Holland, and Guelderland were made into countships, and the country about Utrecht constituted the bishopric of that name. This arrangement furnished the basis of that feudalism which, under the degenerate descendants of Charlemagne, became virtually an independent system. The Bishop of Utrecht had under his dominion the northern portion of the Netherlands, South Holland, and a part of Zealand; and the Saxon bishops of Münster and Osnabrück ruled the eastern districts. The southern part of the country was under the dominion of the Frankish bishops of Cologne, Liege, and Doornik. In course of time the dukedoms were divided up into countships and into *gaus*. Each *gau* had as its center a walled town, where the

Development of feudalism among the Hollanders.

count lived, and with his judges administered justice. These towns were also the commercial seats of the various tribes. Each district was subdivided into marks, or villages, and over each mark, or village, was the headman who acted as judge in local causes. In the northern gaus the Frisians were predominant, in the middle districts the Saxons, and in the southern the Franks.

NATIVES OF URK IN THE ZUYDER ZEE.—FRISIAN TYPES.

What is known as the treaty, or partition, of Verdun, was a landmark in the history of the Dark Ages. The sons of Charlemagne adopted the plan of division instead of the plan of consolidation. Lothaire, son of Louis the Pious, received for his inheritance North Brabant, Guelderland, Limburg, and modern Belgium. Flanders and a part of Zealand went to Charles the Bald, while the countries on the right bank of the Rhine were assigned to Louis the German. A border-land was thus again established between Gaul and Germany.

Ethnic results of the treaty of Verdun.

When Louis II died, without heirs, his uncle Charles the Bald gained possession of all the Northern Netherlands, together with Friesland. But there was great fluctuation, many assignments and reässignments of territories in the remainder of the ninth and beginning of the tenth century.

If we turn to the consideration of the country we shall find it a woodland

swamp, in a region in constant debate, between the sea and the land. There were two means of communication in these ages, one by way of the broad, sluggish rivers, and the other along the Roman roads which had been made through the country. We have now arrived at the time when the Northmen from the shores of the Baltic made their way to the west, penetrated Holland, and began their ravages along the river banks, many times inducing the Saxons and the Frisians to join them in their forays and expeditions. In the reign of Louis the Pious these freebooters were given the district extending from Walcheren to the river Weser. They gained possession even of Utrecht, and planted themselves firmly in the country. It was Rolf the Ganger who seized Walcheren, and in a few years occupied Nimeguen. He extended his conquest as far as Cologne. His campaigns were high-handed in the last degree. He took Aix, capital of Charlemagne, and in the very chapel of that emperor stabled his own and his companions' horses. A full-blown barbarian revel was celebrated in the land until what time Charles the Fat, by the payment of large subsidies, induced Rolf to withdraw into his own estates.

The Northmen take to sea; Rolf the Ganger and his raids.

Among the people inhabiting the northern coast, those Lowland Germans who have given their name to the different countries and who may be defined as the uncles of the English-speaking race, the Frisians should have prominent mention. Their native seats seem to have been between the Weser on the east and the Scheldt on the west. Their territories never extended very far from the coast of the German ocean. A part of Schleswig, however, is still inhabited by people of Frisian descent. It is thought by Dr. Latham that the ancient Frisian settlements extended eastward as far as the islands of Funen and Zealand, and well up into Denmark. To the latter region the name of Frisia Minor, or Lesser Frisia, was given.

Native seats of the Frisians; the race lacking in two qualities.

The early history of this people is obscure, legendary. On the whole, the Frisians were lacking in two peculiarly Germanic qualities. They displayed neither political ambition nor the migratory habit of life, and both of these circumstances have made against them in national development. So far as Rome was concerned, the nation became tributary to the republic in the times of Drusus Germanicus. The subsidy which the Romans exacted was in oxhides, but in course of time it was decreed that the hides should all be of a certain superior quality which the Frisians could not well produce. They accordingly revolted, and in 28 A. D. made a trial of arms with the empire. It is said in the *Annals* of Tacitus that they compelled the Consul Corbulo to grant them a senate, a body of magistrates, and a constitution. But for their own future good behavior they gave hostages to the Romans.

It is said that the ambassadors of the Frisian nation on going to Rome on a certain occasion walked into Pompey's theater, and, without invitation, took their seats among the senators. Their audacity won the admiration of the Roman people, but the emperor refused to grant them the district which they were attempting to colonize. One of the reasons for giving prominent mention in this connection to the people, called Frisians is because their language most nearly of all represents the continental type of Anglo-Saxon, and because the

Relations of the Frisian chiefs with the Romans.

warriors of the nation were drawn along in great numbers in the movement which brought the Angles and the Saxons from their seats into our ancestral islands.

As the Frisians gave their name to Friesland, so the Jutes gave theirs to Jutland, the upper portion of the Danish peninsula. It is believed by ethnographers that this country was the Thule of ancient geography. With more certainty it may be identified with the Cimbric Chersonesus. As the Rhine constitutes the border line between the High and Low German families, so Jutland marks the divisions between the Low Germans and the Scandinavians. Some critics have identified the ancient inhabitants of this peninsula with the so-called Geuthi of Ptolemy, and have agreed that they came by a reflex migration out of Scandinavia on the northern coast of the Baltic.

Jutland marks the division between Low Germans and Norse.

The reader will not have forgotten how the final settlements and national development of the Celtic races in the west of Europe were peninsular and insular—how Bretagne and Cornwall and Wales, the Scottish Highlands and Ireland, became the ethnic resort of the Celts, hard pressed as they were by the stronger peoples from Gaul and the East. We may see the same ethnic conditions here transferred to the Teutonic race, and illustrated in the peninsular situation of the Jutes. It was for this reason that these people first of all took to the sea and led the van of the barbarian voyages which carried the Teutonic peoples to the coasts of England. It is agreed that after the departure of the Romans the Jutes were the first to plant themselves on the shores of Britain. Another circumstance, that of climate, led to the transference of large bodies of the peninsular barbarians of the region now before us to the low-lying, oak-covered woods and river lands of Britain. Taine has called it "a rude and foggy land—like their own."

Why the Jutes led the van in barbarian adventure.

CHAPTER LXXXVIII.—THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

THE nearly two hundred million people who now speak the English tongue can never lose their interest in that branch of the Low Germanic race called the Anglo-Saxons. It is accepted by ethnologists as a fact that the three tribes of Germany, the Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons, who came into our ancestral islands, had all a common Teutonic origin. The Angles as well as the Jutes, whom we have just described, dwelt in the peninsula of Jutland. In the adjoining province of Holstein there is a region called Anglen. It might not be regarded as fanciful to recognize this as Old England and Britain as New England. Certain it is that the primitive continental home of our ancestors was in the countries now known by the general name of Denmark and in the adjacent coasts, that of the Baltic on the east and that of the North sea on the west.

Place of the Angles and the Saxons.

If we look, however, for the habitat of the Saxons, we shall find it to have been somewhat more widely spread than that of the Jutes and Angles. They

were dispersed in general from the delta of the Rhine to the river Weser. When a portion of the race broke loose from this coast and followed their confederates, the Angles and the Jutes, into Britain, the remnant of the race left behind in its continental abode became known as the Old Saxons, to distinguish them from the Anglo-Saxons who took possession of Britain. It appears that the term Saxon came into use as an ethnic name for the confederacy of tribes by which Britain was subdued. It is believed that the word is from *seax*, meaning the short sword with which the barbarians were armed.

Expeditions of Hengist and Horsa into Britain.

About the time of the withdrawal of the Roman authorities from Britain, at the middle of the fifth century, while Vortigern, the British king, was contending with Aurelius Ambrosius, two chieftains of the Jutes, bearing the somewhat mythical names of Hengist and Horsa, took to sea from the peninsula of Jutland, and in 446 or 447 A. D. arrived in the Isle of Thanet with three vessels and a band of followers. Such was the beginning of that barbarian invasion which was destined not to cease until the Danes had peopled the north of England—aye, until the Normans of the eleventh century, who followed William the Conqueror, had come over from Neustria and subverted the Anglo-Saxon kingdom.

Thus the Saxons were divided into two branches: the Old Saxons left behind in Westphalia, and the Anglo-Saxons of England. It has been alleged that Vortigern *invited* Hengist and Horsa to come over into Britain and assist him in his conflict with the Romans and afterwards the Picts. If so, it was the most disastrous invitation which the leader of one nation ever tendered to another. It is said that the war of the now unsupported Britons against the Picts and the Scots was made successful by the alliance of Vortigern with the Jutes and Saxons, and that their services were recognized by the British king by the cession to them of the Isle of Thanet. All the world has heard the story of the alleged marriage of Rowena, daughter of Hengist, to Vortigern, the British king. She had the reputation of being the most beautiful princess of her time. Rowena, at one of the feasts of the allies, carried a goblet of wine to Vortigern, saying in Saxon, "Wæs heal, hlaford Conung," that is, "Health to thee, my lord king." But Vortigern did not understand the saying until it was explained to him. Then "Drinc heal" was the answer, that is, "Drink a health." From Rowena's words of *wæs heal* the word *wassail*, said of the drinking cup which was passed around at feasts, was long preserved in England.

Fatal invitation of Vortigern; story of Rowena.

Meanwhile the appetites of the Jutes were whetted with what they fed on. They demanded larger territories, and when these were refused joined with the Picts and Scots in conquering the island. *Nimed eure seaxas*, that is, "Take your swords," became the signal for declaring war. It was not long until the Jutes had taken possession of Cantium, that is, the modern Kent, and had extended their authority over the adjacent region.

Nimed eure seaxas; banner of the horse's head.

It is claimed by critical scholars that much of what we have thus far related is mythical. The very names of Hengist and Horsa have been doubted. It appears that both words signify a horse. To the present day the standard of the county of Kent is a horse's head. Nor are our authors agreed that the Jutes

IKRUPTION OF THE SAXONS.—After Speman.

were invited into England at all. It is thought more likely that they went to sea on a piratical expedition and fell on our ancestral coast after their manner. Having once taken possession of Thanet, they might easily cross into Kent, and in like manner make themselves masters of that land by violence.

Eric the Æsc, that is, Eric the Ash, extended the conquests made by his father. But with him invasion ceased, and the people from the middle of the sixth to the beginning of the seventh century remained in a condition of quietude. Kent, however, gave up its whole British population, and the Jutes and their kindred filled up the country. The first Saxon conqueror in the island was called Ella, or Alla, who came with his three sons and with bands of warriors. The Britons had by this time become thoroughly alarmed. They made a confederacy against the invading barbarians, but a stream of new warriors flowed constantly into the island, and their foothold was strengthened in every struggle. The South Saxons settled in the country which took their name and became Sussex. Ella became the first bretwalda, or emperor, of his countrymen in England.

Southeastern Britain overrun by the invaders.

The next great army came over from the north under command of Cerdic and settled in Hampshire. They were opposed by Geraint. But the latter was slain in battle, and the opposition offered by his countrymen was broken down. Cerdic and Cynric became successively kings of the new territory, which was extended more and more by the aggressions of the conquerors. From the position of their countrymen, the East Saxons, the later bands took the name of West Saxons. The country was called Wessex. The river Avon was made the boundary of the new kingdom, beyond which the British princes were still in authority. The next kingdom to be established was East Saxony, or Essex. This would have included the city of London, which had already had an existence of five centuries; but it is believed that it was not incorporated with any of the Saxon kingdoms, but was rather a tributary of Essex.

Saxon conquest of Hampshire; Essex and Wessex founded.

The process of Saxonizing England was now in full tide. One barbarian state after another was established. Besides the Jute kingdom of Kent, there were set up East Saxony, South Saxony, and West Saxony, then East Anglia, Mercia, and then Bernicia and Deira, making eight in all, or seven after the last two were combined into Northumbria. It was to this division of small kingdoms that the name heptarchy was given. Not that they all existed contemporaneously; but they appeared successively, and had, now one and now another, the ascendency until the beginning of the ninth century, when the great Egbert, king of the West Saxons, gained the sovereignty over the whole country.

Establishment of the Saxon heptarchy and retreat of the Britons.

Meanwhile the Britons, that is, the Celtic peoples of the island, fell back into the western parts, making their strongholds in the Highlands of Scotland and in Wales and Cornwall. We have had occasion in a former book to point out the completeness of the conquests made by the Germanic nations in England, and the absolute retirement of the British peoples before the invaders. All of Eastern and Southeastern England was taken by the Saxons, the Angles, and the Jutes as completely as if the island had not been previously occupied at all. The method of conquest was en-

tirely different from that whereby the Romans were wont to establish their authority over subject tribes.

Toward the middle of the sixth century the Angles began to pour into the country in great numbers. It is said that Old England was almost depopulated. It seems that the nations adjoining the Angles on the Continent did not rush in to take the place of the latter when they went forth to England. They themselves, namely, the tribes adjacent to Angleland, in the Low Countries, were putting forth into foreign regions. When the tribes came into England they were divided into two classes, the North Folk and the South Folk. The kingdom of East Anglia included, therefore, both Norfolk and Suffolk. The original immigrants who peopled this part of the country were separated from the rest of Britain. There were broad, deep marshes toward the west. The country was much like a peninsula, and at the isthmus the East Angles cast up an earthwork, defended on the British side by a great moat. This work was generally known in the Middle Ages as the Giant's Dike, and a part of it is still called the Devil's Dike.

The Angles found East Anglia, Norfolk, and Suffolk.

Uffa was the first of the East Anglian chieftains to rise to the rank of king. His descendants were known as the Uffingas. But the kingdom was small and unimportant, and very little has been preserved of its early history. Extending from the river Humber to the Firth of Forth lay the two principalities of Deira and Bernicia. These were separated from each other by a forest which filled up the tract of country between the Tyne and the Tees. The river Tyne became at length the true boundary. The districts beyond the Humber were from their situation greatly exposed to the attacks of the Jute and Saxon pirates, but on this part of the coast the native peoples had more unity than any other parts of England, and were thus able in a measure to keep the invaders at bay.

Situation of affairs north of the Humber.

In this manner was formed the heptarchy. The term is erroneous, but has become familiar, and can hardly be expurgated from history. As we have said, no period in the annals of Britain saw seven Germanic kingdoms independent of each other. Many cities, such as Worcester in Mercia, and London in Essex, remained independent, but the best parts of Britain passed under Anglo-Saxon dominion, whilst the Cymric Celts were pressed back into the western districts of the island. Here, aided by the character of the country, by its woods, its mountains, and morasses, they still maintained themselves against the invaders. In Strathclyde and Cumbria also the Britons were in the ascendant. Here was their dun, or fortress, known by the modern name of Dunbarton, and the authority of the natives extended as far as the borders of Lancashire, while the state was defended on the other side from Northumbria by the range of highlands called the British Apennines.

The Britons maintain a precarious footing in England.

Devonshire was largely a Cymric state, and Cornwall, known as West Wales in the language of the Saxons, remained independent. To the middle of the seventh century the Welsh Celts still hoped to recover the island and to set up again a national monarchy; but after the death of their king, Cadwaladyr, who first resigned his crown and then went on a pilgrimage to Rome, the hope of a restored nationality was abandoned by the Cymrians, and the more ambitious part of the race took to sea and joined

The Welsh Celts lose their nationality.

SAXON CALENDAR.

their countrymen in Armorica. It was by this process of expulsion and decline that the Celtic race lost all expectation of a national sovereignty in the West.

The last of the ethnic struggles which occurred in our ancestral islands, determinative for the future of the joint occupation of both races within the limits of the country, was that between the Celts of Wales and the Anglo-Saxons, more particularly the Mercians, who invaded that country. It was in this region that the Cymric Celts fought their most desperate battles, not, indeed, so much for victory as for existence in their native country. There were occasions on which it appeared that the Saxons were victorious. Wales was overrun, and the authority of the Teutonic invaders temporarily established, but the Cymri set themselves with great determination against the Saxon customs and laws, and with a peculiar antipathy against the Saxons themselves. Meanwhile the Cymri maintained their old lines of descent, especially in the royal families, always having a nominal king of their own blood and nationality.

The people were never to any considerable extent dispossessed of the soil. They would not mingle with the Mercian invaders; and though they rendered tribute, they would not acknowledge the authority by which it was exacted. A condition of vassalage, however, was established even in Wales. Annual subsidies were exacted by the conquerors But the Anglo-Saxon language was never enforced in the western mountainous districts of the island. Before the days of Alfred a condition was established as between Wales and Cornwall on the one side and Anglo-Saxon Britain on the other, which was nearly identical with that long afterwards existing when the heptarchy had given place to a united kingdom, and that in turn had been transformed into the Norman monarchy. We have already seen at how late a date Wales accepted the sovereignty of the foreign race and fell into the rank of a county, under the scepter of the Plantagenets. Thus from the side of the Anglo-Saxon invaders of Britain we have outlined the course of history down to that epoch to which we have already referred in our account of the Welsh people as a branch of the Celtic race.

Condition of Wales after yielding to the Saxon power.

Chronologically, this abolition of the British kingdoms, that is, the Celtic states of England and the substitution therefor of Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, reached from the middle of the fifth to near the close of the seventh century. By the latter date the contest was

Geographical limitation of the Celtic race.

decided. The struggle had been fierce in the last degree and long continued. It was the beating of an Anglo-Saxon pestle into the British reservoir of the Celtic race. It can not be doubted—if we may be permitted to indulge in hypothesis—that the Celts would in their turn have taken to sea and gone to other lands if such a thing had been possible. But this unfortunate race had already been pressed from one national seat to another until it had taken a final lodgment in the peninsulas and islands of Northwestern Europe. Further it could not go. Nothing remained except extermination or else a final defense in the Highlands, in insular Ireland, and in peninsular Wales, Cornwall, and Bretagne.

Paganism of the Teutonic conquerors of England.

On their coming into Britain the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes were in a state of paganism. Their beliefs and practices had been derived from the common Teutonic stock in the countries beyond the Rhine and in the lowlands along the Baltic and the North sea. What those beliefs were, their nature and derivation, we have already seen. In a general way the worship of the Saxons, in common with that of the other Germanic nations, had respect to two classes of objects: The first was those visible and predominant elements of the external world and in the planetary regions by the aid of which the barbarians were manifestly benefited. Of these, the principal earthly objects were water and fire; and the most conspicuous planetary deities were the sun and the moon. The second source of veneration and worship was the heroic ancestry of the race. Descent was not of itself a fact to beget adoration, but heroism was a source of inspiration which might not be overlooked. It is doubtful whether any other original elements entered into the pantheon of the Anglo-Saxons except the beneficial powers of nature and hero worship.

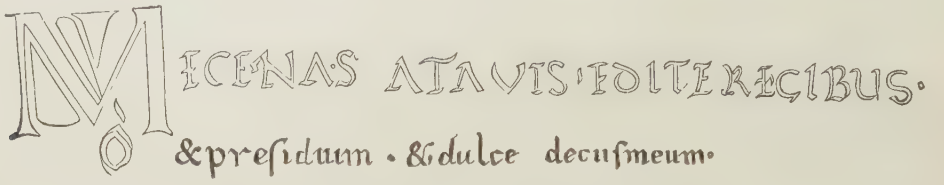
Teutonic nomenclature of the days of the week.

There was, moreover, a touch of the practical in the system of paganism which the northern barbarians brought with them into England. The days of the week were parceled out among the deities whom the people adored. Sunday was Sunnadæg, that is, day of the sun; for the first day of the week was devoted to the worship of the luminary of day. Monday was Monandæg, or Moonday, having rank next to the day of the sun. It may well be mentioned as an incidental fact that the sun of the Anglo-Saxon, as in all other Teutonic dialects, was feminine, and the moon masculine, thus reversing the concept of the Græco-Italic peoples of the south The sun was thought of as the mother and the moon as the father of nature.

It was the custom of the German nations in general to hold their courts on the third day of the week, which was accordingly known as Dingstag, meaning courtday. The Anglo-Saxons, however, called this day Tuiesdæg, that is, Tuisco's dæg, or the day of Mercury, the chief mythological deity of the race. In the next place we come to the recognition of the demigod Wodin, whose name, Wodinsdæg, was given to the fourth day of the week, modified in course of time into Wednesday. In like manner the fifth day of the week had a mythological derivation from the god Thor, that is, the Thunderer. Thorsdæg was Thunderer's day. We have already called attention to the fact that Jove the Thunderer was in the Norse mythology reduced to a secondary rank, Tuisco holding the first. Freya, the wife of

Mixture of elements in the names of the days.

Wodin, furnished the name for the next day of the week, Freyasdæg, or Friday. Freya was the North German Venus, and could hardly be overlooked in distributing names to the days of the week. We have already spoken of the German deity Surtur, which in the Anglo-Saxon dialect was written Sæter. In his honor the last of the seven days was called Sæterdæg. If we seek for his analogue in the Greek or Roman pantheon, we should find him corresponding more nearly with Neptune than with any other of the Græco-Italic deities. He was represented in the Norse myth as standing on a fish and holding in his hand a bucket of water. Thus the hebdomadal division of time, which was common to all the Aryan nations, was observed and maintained by the northern pagans, and by them was carried into Britain, where the days of the week were distributed partly to the planets and partly to the mythological deities.



ANGLO-SAXON WRITING OF THE SIXTH CENTURY.

Under the administrative influences of the Teutonic nations the old beliefs of the Britons were extinguished. The movement of the Anglo-Saxons from the eastern shores of the island was like a besom that swept before it all things soever. It has been found, however, that in the kingdom of Deira the Angles, somewhat less savage in their manner than were the Jutes and the Saxons, absorbed some elements of Druidism, and incorporated the same with their subsequent religious practices. The evidences of this, however, which are recited and relied upon to prove that the Angles had greater flexibility of opinion than their countrymen, are hardly sufficient to establish the theory.

Relations of the conquered and the conquerors.

ANGLO-SAXON WRITING OF THE TENTH CENTURY.

The student need not be told that Druidism and Germanic paganism, far apart as they were in most particulars, had some things in common. The superstitions of both races had their beginnings in the forest. They were connected with the solitudes and gloom of the great woods under whose shelter and safety both the Teutonic and the Celtic pagans found a retreat, where their native religions might be celebrated without disturbance or innovation. When, therefore, it is noted that

Common features of Druidism and Teutonic paganism.

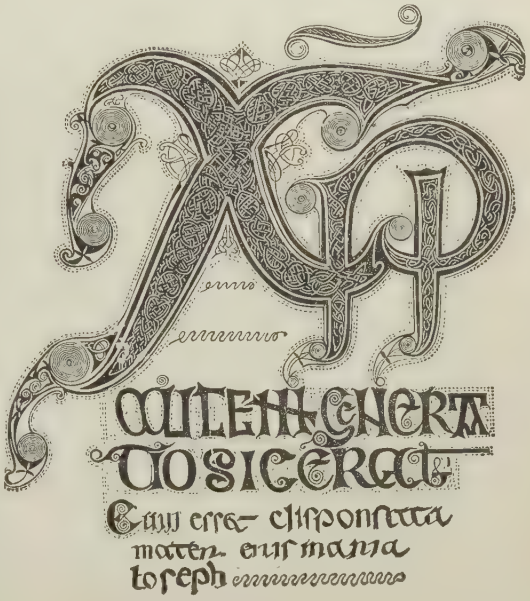
rocks and running streams and green trees were worshiped by the Angles of Deira, and that to these libations and sacrifices were made, the evidence that such forms of adoration had been absorbed by the conquerors from the conquered people is so weak as hardly to justify the hypothesis. It is probably nearer the truth to say that such forms of religious ceremony, and particularly the circumstances under which they were observed, should be referred to the common belief of all the German nations that the Elves, the people of Lichtalfheim, had their abodes on the river banks and in the silence of the woods, and that the worshiper should seek a nearness with the objects of worship by going, as it were, to the door of Elfland to offer their sacrifices.

Hunnish pressure and Germanic instincts work together.

We have in the preceding pages ascribed as a motive for the removal of tribes and nations from one place and country to another the pressure upon them by other incoming tribes and nations from the East. It has been said that the Hunnish pestle, beating on the Germanic mass and thrust into it as it lay compressed between the Danube and the Baltic, compelled its bursting forth on the western sides; compelled the outgoing of the Goths, the Vandals, the Franks, and the Saxons into Italy, Spain, Gaul, and Britain. All this is true, but the truth is not complete. Such an exposition of the subject in question is partial. All history is a statement of half-truths. If the Germanic nations had to a sufficient extent adopted the settled manner of life, if they had been fixed by any passionate attachment to the wild forests and marsh lands which they inhabited, they would have turned upon the Asiatics and driven them back to their own place.

Passion of the Germans for going forth to conquest.

The earth tie, however, is weak with tribes and peoples who are still in the migratory stage. In a corresponding degree the passion of adventure and conquest is strong. We thus see that mixed and complex motives would operate in drawing forth the Goths, the Franks, and the Saxons from their ancestral seats. Withal, the disposition to cultivate the soil, and to deduce therefrom the means of subsistence rather than to gain the same by the chase and war, was weak among those nations. To



EXTRACT FROM HAROLD, TENTH CENTURY.

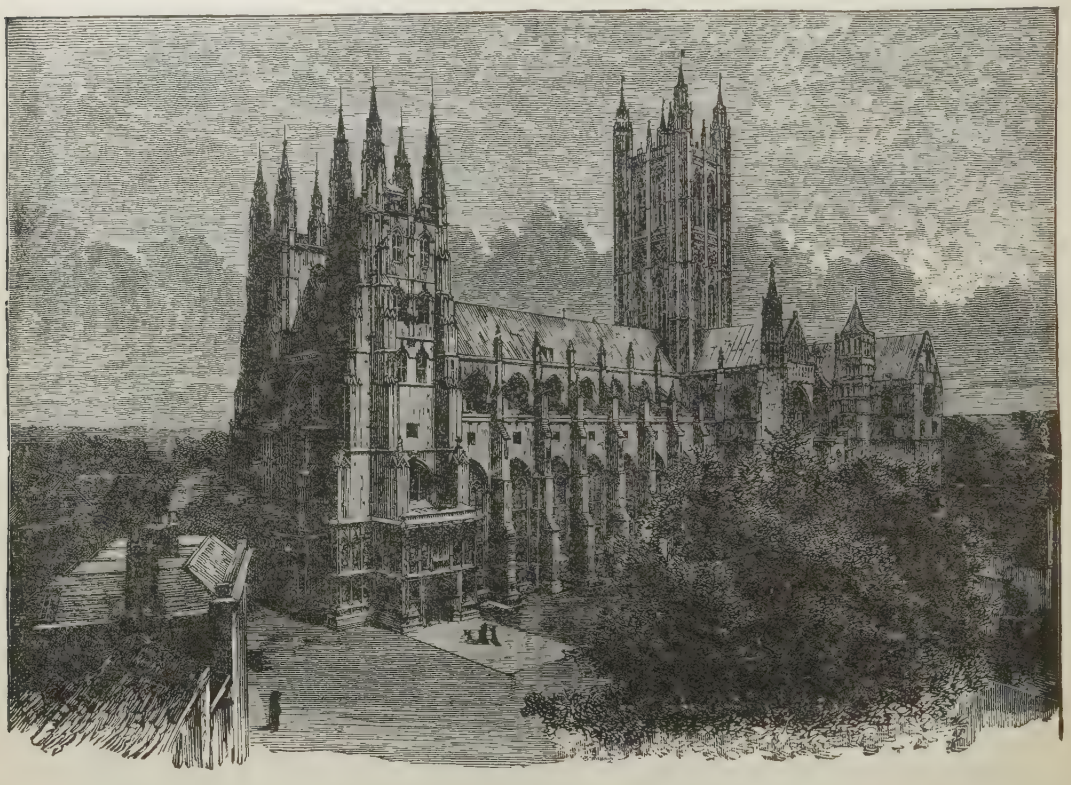
go forth meant the exploit of battle and the easy subsistence of conquest. It meant spoliation. It meant the discovery of new seats more advantageous than those already occupied. It meant to strike and conquer peoples who were weaker than themselves, who had already amassed such wealth as they might not be able to defend. The Jutes, the Angles, and the Saxons were drawn to the British coasts rather than forced; though they were both. The crowding behind them urged them to

take to the sea. The robber passion also urged them to it, and the piratical imagination of the race was excited with vague rumors which had come to them of islands out in the west, not far from the mainland, wherein abundant resources might be gained by war, rich lands possessed under the circle of the sword.

The three principal nations of Germans can scarcely be regarded as fixed in their Anglo-Saxon kingdoms in Britain before the great religious change was prepared, under the influence of which paganism was abandoned in the island and Christianity instituted in its stead. We have already had occasion to refer to this change in the account of the Celtic nations by which Britain was so long possessed. It was in the year 588, nearly a century and a half after the arrival of the first Jutes in England, that Saint Gregory, not yet a pope of Rome, passed through the market-place in the Eternal City and saw the captive youths sitting there ready for sale, bright blue as to their eyes, ruddy as to their cheeks, and crowned with sunlight as to their long yellow hair.

First touch of Christianity; tradition of Saint Gregory.

Gregory, though a saint, was not above punning. "To what nation do these boys belong?" was the question which he addressed to the slave-dealer. "They are Angles, father," said he who dealt in human merchandise. "*Non Angli, sed angeli*" ("Not Angles, but angels"), replied the good father, in a humorous sympathy for the condemned, and then added: "I would they might be cherubim in heaven." Then he continued: "Out of what province do they come?" "From Deira, in England, father," said the dealer. "*De*



CANTERBURY, FROM THE SOUTHWEST.

ira Dei liberandi sunt" ("From the wrath of God they must be delivered"), said the holy man, playing on *de ira*, which was pronounced like Deira. "And what is the king of that country?" "Alla" (Ella), said the slave trader. "Then we will make it *alle*-lujah," said the saintly punster.—Such is the legendary beginning of that enterprise by which the Anglo-Saxon races in Britain were brought to an acceptance of the gospel by the influence of Roman missionaries.

Conversion of the Saxons of Kent to the new faith.

At the time of which we speak Ethelbert, King of Kent, had risen to the rank of Bretwalda, or sovereign, of all the Saxon kingdoms. He had as his wife the princess Bertha, sister of Charibert, King of France. She had become a convert to Christianity before leaving the Frankish kingdom. During the Roman occupancy of Britain that people had erected a church in the neighborhood of Canterbury, but the building had been abandoned after the withdrawal of the Roman power. Bertha, with the permission of her husband, had the edifice repaired and converted into a cathedral. So when Saint Augustine and his forty monks, sent out under the auspices of Gregory to the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, arrived in the island, they found a vantage-ground with the King of Kent.

The Christian embassy arrived in Thanet, and Ethelbert was sent for by them. It appears that the king was somewhat afraid of the meeting, but he received them with kindness, and paid some attention to their exhortations and the chanting of the Litany. The monks rapidly gained ground in the Kentish kingdom, and it was not long until Ethelbert and all the people abandoned the worship of Thor and Wodin and adopted the Christian religion as their faith. It is said that on a single day ten thousand of the people of Kent were baptized. When the news reached Rome, Gregory was greatly elated, and wrote a letter to his brother Eulogius, of Alexandria, telling him the wonderful success of his missionaries "in the most remote parts of the world."

Ethelbert favors Saint Augustine; foundation of Canterbury.

The Anglo-Saxon chronicle goes on relating how Ethelbert became anxious to give to Augustine and his companions every opportunity and advantage in the performance of the ceremonies of the new religion. He first surrendered to them a portion of his own palace, to be occupied for worship until a cathedral might be erected on the premises near by. Ample possessions were given to all the priests. A great church edifice was founded, which was destined to become the Cathedral of Canterbury. The structure thus laid, with the additions thereto, survived until the eleventh century, when it was burned to ashes. Then the celebrated Lanfranc undertook the rebuilding of the cathedral, and the larger part of the structure refers to this period, though some parts are of later date. Ever afterwards this edifice continued to be the seat of the primacy of the English Church. The priests, soon after the foundation of Canterbury, made their way into Essex. Of this kingdom, Sebert, nephew of Ethelbert, was king. This circumstance gave the monks a great advantage. Thus came the new religion to London.

Aspects of London in the sixth century.

At the time of which we speak London was limited to the ancient city which had been surrounded with a wall in the age of Constantine. Outside of this there were moorlands and marshes. On one side a small river, falling into the Thames, formed an island, which bore

the Anglo-Saxon name of Thorney. Here in the Roman times there had been built a temple of Apollo. It was a fancy of Sebert to convert this place into a Christian church, which he accordingly did, and which is now the Westminster Abbey of universal fame. Within the city of London, on the ruins of the Temple of Diana, also of Roman origin, Sebert and his people laid the foundations of another church, which became known as Saint Paul's Cathedral. Thus in the southeastern parts of the island Christianity made rapid headway.

LANDING OF SAINT AUGUSTINE IN KENT, 597 A. D.—Drawn by Herbert Bone.

But the pagans north of the Humber retained their heathenism until the reign of Edwin. The last named monarch had taken in marriage Ethelburgha, daughter of Ethelbert, and her brother Eadbert succeeded his uncle in the kingdom of Kent. Thus was paved the way for the admission of missionaries into Northumbria. During the reign of Edwin, war broke out with Wessex, and the Northumbrian king made a vow that if successful he would abjure paganism and become a Christian. The event so fell out that he must keep his vow. Thus the court of Northumbria took on the Christian doctrine. From kingdom to kingdom the new faith spread, until it became the established religion of the Anglo-Saxon states. It was a long time before the evidences of the old religious condition of the country disappeared; but gradually the new ideas took possession of the pagan minds, supplanting idolatry and supporting in all respects the doctrines and symbolism of the Roman Church.

Pagans of the north yield to Christianity.

We have already examined the political condition of the Teutonic tribes before the age of their emigration. The Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes were of the same type with the rest. Vain

would be the search among them for what in modern language would be called a king. Their chieftains bore the names of Ealdormen, that is, Aldermen, or Eldermen. Doubtless the distinction was first based on age, coupled with valor and heroism. Such chieftains as Cerdic and Cynric, Hengist and Horsa, were rulers of this order. It is in the nature of things, however, that such offices rise in character, claiming higher and still higher honors, until they reach kingship proper. In the age of the Anglo-Saxon immigration the chiefs still claimed to rule in virtue of their descent from Wodin. They had the priestly as well as the military and political functions of the race in their hands. Of a certainty their power and influence was very great, greater in times of hostility than in peace.

Political estate of the Anglo-Saxons; chieftains and kings.

We here repeat that peculiarity which led to the election of a general, or chieftain, at the outbreak of war. He was chosen solely on the ground of his reputation for valor and warlike skill. When the conflict was over his office ended *ipso facto*. The Romans were wont to speak of such rulers and generals as reges, or kings. Sometimes when the outlying tribes were in amity with the Roman authority, the senate was wont to raise the chieftains of the barbarian nations to the consular rank, thus admitting them to participancy in Roman citizenship and Roman dignity. Clovis, King of the Franks, received a diploma of his consular rank and the purple robe from Anastasius, Emperor of the East. In fact, he played the part of Augustus among the Franks, riding abroad in imperial fashion and scattering gold to the multitude.

Philosophy of leadership and the kingly office.

Out in Britain, however, the character of the aldermen was determined by the instincts and old customs of the race; and not much dignity was derived from the Roman empire. The result was a greater freedom of growth among the petty kings of Britain. The chieftains of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes took the title of cyning, or king, claiming such dignity not only in virtue of conquest, but as successors of the old British sovereigns who had ruled aforetime in the island. In process of time the head alderman, who acquired the right to govern a whole nation, retained the title of king, while the old distinction of aldermen was kept for the thanes, or chieftains, under the head sovereign of the race.

The British aldermen have greater freedom of development.

It was in this manner that the seven or eight kingdoms of the heptarchy were one by one evolved. Kent, Essex, Sussex, Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia, Northumbria, all came into view by the ascendency of an alderman, who by his strength and virtues gained the kingship of his nation. The kingdom of Clovis, who in process of time established himself as emperor of the Franks, and who was able to transmit much of his sovereignty to his successors by hereditary descent, was established in the identical manner of the Anglo-Saxon states. But the evolution was by no means complete with the forthcoming of the king.

The heptarchy in analogy with the kingdom of Clovis.

The little Anglo-Saxon dominions had relations with each other. They were bound by political ties and by the kinship of the respective monarchs. Nothing was more common than the union by marriage of two royal families, thereby transmitting to a common descent the sovereignty of both. In this way, at a very early epoch after the driving back

The evolution of the Bretwalda, or overking.

of the Britons and the establishment of the Saxon kingdoms, a claim began to be advanced for the supremacy of some overking whose authority was paramount over two, or even many, of the barbarian states. The name given to such a personage was that of Bretwalda having a sense analogous to that of emperor among greater peoples. Ella himself, King of Sussex, was the first to claim and wear this dignity. The South Saxons and the Jutes were the first to establish themselves in the island, and the assumption of the rank of Bretwalda by Ella meant no more than his right to be chief of the two nations then in the island and of the British tribes.

The office of Bretwalda imitated from the Roman system.

There can be little doubt that the setting up of such an authority was in imitation of the Roman system, which placed the imperator at the head of the civil structure. It is said that the coins of the Bretwalda were copied from the medal of Carausius, bearing an effigy of the twin wolves of ancient Rome. The next of the Anglo-Saxon kings to claim imperial prerogatives were Ceawlin, of Wessex, and Ethelbert, of Kent. Then Redwald, of East Anglia, was Bretwalda, and then Edwin, of Northumbria. It must be remembered, however, that this dignity in the times of which we speak was in a large degree titular. A real government is supported by administrative and institutional forms, and not merely by title. To a certain extent, no doubt, the Bretwalda of the sixth and seventh centuries in England had an actual authority over the adjacent nations; but the name and rank of such a sovereign were mythical rather than real, and the existence of such an office in Anglo-Saxondom was uncertain and fluctuating.

From this point of view we are able to perceive how great an influence Roman types and realities had in the formation of that New Europe which was to arise on the ruins of the old. It was in the first century B. C. that Rome began to put out her scepter over barbarian Europe. Her conquests under Julius Cæsar and his successors were rapid and permanent. In a comparatively short period of time all the countries west of the line of the Danube and the Rhine yielded to the Roman sway. They became provinces of the empire. They were ruled by provincial governors. The Latin language, and to a considerable extent the traditions and methods of the Roman race, were introduced into Gaul and Spain and Britain. This state of affairs continued for a long time. We might set a limit of four and a half centuries to the period during which the Roman authority was maintained in that part of Europe which had been designated as barbarian. This epoch was ample for the transformation of the subject races to the forms and methods of the Roman government.

Antecedents of New Europe deducible from Imperial Rome.

Another means of producing similarity throughout was the diffusion of Christianity. What, therefore, more natural than that when the pagan nations broke over the Danube and the Rhine, and took to the sea from the coast of the lowlands, the new barbarian states planted in the various parts of Western and Northwestern Europe should adopt a large part of the Roman machinery and imitate the style of government which the empire had employed for nearly five hundred years? This was actually done. The remembrance, the tradition of the empire, was ever present in the minds of the pagan rulers of Gaul and Spain and Britain, and

Christianity furnishes a common tie for the barbarian states.

these countries became in their governmental machinery more and more assimilated to the type which was known to have been so strong a framework in the hands of the Roman builders.

Historical likenesses of Saxons and Merovingians; Alfred and Charlemagne.

We have here a series of ethnic and historical analogies, not fanciful, such as writers are sometimes wont to draw, but real—analogies in fact. The heptarchy in England corresponds to the Merovingian dynasty in France. The one was closed by the rise of the Carlovingian dynasty, and the other by the ascendency of the House of Egbert in Wessex. Charlemagne, King of the Franks, was the continental Alfred the Great, and Alfred among the Saxon kingdoms of England was the insular Charlemagne. The process of combination into a single considerable state was the same in the one country as in the other, and should we enter into details, we should find the same or a similar state of progress among the Franks as among the subjects of the kings of Wessex. Nor is it easy to award the palm as between Alfred and Charlemagne; to say that the one was greater in his sphere than the other. The facilities, or rather the preliminaries, of political greatness were more abundantly distributed on the Continent than in Britain, but it is by no means clear that Charles the Great made a better use of the materials at his disposal or succeeded, on the whole, in a greater degree in the establishment of a permanent system of government than did his contemporary, Alfred the Great.

Character of the new ethnic type developed in England.

By the arrival of this epoch, coïnciding in general with the eighth and ninth centuries, the character of the Anglo-Saxons had taken a definite form, somewhat different in structure and features from that which had been developed by their old-time kinsmen in the north of Europe. The Anglo-Saxon type of manhood had been forged out of a material which for strength and endurance had no superior, if indeed it had any equal, within the limits of continental Europe; and if not in continental Europe, then not in the world. In this foggy island, more barbarous than the race that possessed it, unreclaimed from the dominion of nature, a type of men

CANUTE THE GREAT.—ANGLO-DANE TYPE.

came into the foreground whose pre-eminence, after more than a thousand years, can hardly be disputed among the peoples of the modern world.

It remained, however, for the ethnic course of the Anglo-Saxon current to be twice changed and once seriously modified in its constitution by foreign impact. In the first place, we have to consider the incoming of the Danes. We have seen how large a part of the Jute-Anglo-Saxon race had been drawn from the shores of the Baltic, the coast of the North sea, and the peninsula of Jutland. Meanwhile, in the course of several centuries, the peoples of this region, particularly of the peninsula, had taken the name of Danes, and had grown into a national character. Like their predecessors of the fifth century, the Danes of the ninth and tenth centuries had the habit of seafaring. They were men of the perilous ocean. It is said that they had now "made a league against the ocean," having adopted the plan of damming it out from their lowlands. But to skim the sea, to visit the outlying islands, to take by rapacity what things soever the skill and industry of others had produced, such were the native passions of the race. On voyages of this kind they went forth afar on the boisterous deep. They braved all perils, and at length fell on the coast of England, near the mouth of the Humber, and began to contend for a footing on the island which their kinsmen had subdued and civilized in part.

Antecedents and sea-passion of the Danes.

It is easy for the historian to discern the ethnic forces which were at work in this great problem. The tyro in human annals will call to mind the strenuous efforts made by Charlemagne to defend his empire on the side of Spain and on the side of Germany. The Pyrenees constituted one of his frontier lines, and the Rhine or the Weser the other. Along the latter border he contended strenuously with the Ingavonian Germans. The great Wittekind was their king. Fierce was the battle which the more civilized Franks, turning back against the land out of which they had themselves proceeded, waged with the less civilized German nations beyond the Lower Rhine and along the northern marshlands and seashore. Charlemagne in this conflict was successful, and the more he was successful the more densely were the barbarian Germans compressed along the coast. It was out of this situation, enraged by defeat and crowded by the arrival of others who had been overthrown like themselves, that the Danes of the eighth and ninth centuries took to sea. They would have done so if the brine had been crowded with whales and walruses, sea-tigers and unnamable leviathans from the prehistoric deeps. We may see in the situation the source of a part of that ferocity with which the ocean vultures swept out of peninsular Jutland, falling in one division upon the Frankish province of Neustria, and in another on the eastern coast of England.

Historical circumstances that urged the Danes abroad.

Historically, a great change ensued. A Danish dynasty of four kings succeeded to the throne of England. The genius of Alfred the Great was hardly sufficient to compete with the swarms of Danish invaders that rolled in like successive waves upon his dominions. How he was driven from his throne is known to all the world. How he recovered it is known. But how at length the Danes were established in authority over the island is less fully understood. Old Sweyn and Canute and Hardicanute and

The Saxon power in England yields to the Danish onset.

Harold wellnigh succeeded in uniting Denmark and England under a common government. But ethnically considered, the change effected in the people was but slight. So nearly were the Anglo-Saxons and Jutes, on the one side, and the Danes on the other, descended from a common ancestry, so nearly were they but cognate varieties of the same people, that their differences of blood and ethnic disposition may well be neglected in the general count.

Affinities and divergencies of the two races.

Linguistically, the modification in the future English tongue was considerable. For in the meantime the dialects of the Norsemen had departed much from the Anglo-Saxon grammar and vocabulary. On the whole, no two races who have fallen together in conflict, the one yielding to the other and the other to it until a new type of men has arisen out of their amalgamation, have been more nearly identical in their ethnic qualities than were the Anglo-Saxons of England and the Danes who came after them, to share their conquest. Nevertheless, the old ties of kinship did not operate powerfully upon them. Though they had been countrymen they had become two divisions of a barbarian race, and each made war upon the other, as occasion arose, with a violence and ferocity hardly equaled within the limits of our era.

Subversion of Danelagh by the Anglo-Saxons.

Danelagh, the barbarian kingdom of the Danes proper in England, corresponded very nearly with East Anglia and Northumbria. For more than a century the relations between this country and South England were always strained. In the time of the Danish ascendency, one assessment after another was laid by Canute, Harold Harefoot, and Hardicanute on the Saxons of the south. With what reluctance and sullen wrath a Saxon pays tribute has been known for more than a thousand years. Ever and anon war broke out and was waged with extreme violence, until at last even the pertinacious and daring Danes were put down by the prowess of the Anglo-Saxons.

CHAPTER LXXXIX.—THE NORMANS.

NOW it was in Anglo-Saxon England that the antecedents of a still more formidable invasion were prepared. Emma, the Flower of Normandy, became successively the wife of Ethelred and Canute. By the former she had two sons, Edward and Alfred, who were brought up at the court of her brother, Richard of Normandy. They were thus at once the representatives of the English and the Norman crowns. In course of time they became the occasion, if not the cause, of claims which were advanced by the Norman dynasty to complete rule in England. We must now, however, turn aside to consider the origin and character of the Norman people. Their original seats were, according to Tacitus, in the Cimbric Chersonesus and in the Danish Isles of Funen, Langland, Zealand, and Laaland. The Cimbri and the Suiones, from whom sprang the Normans, appear to have been kinsmen, not only by blood and race derivation, but by

Origin and evolution of the Norman race.

sentiment and action. The part of the coast in which they were accumulated has been already described, and the circumstances of their compression and to seek some island or coast where they might plant themselves with advantage. In this way the race was carried in the first place across the Baltic and inter-

MANNERS OF THE NORMANS.—CORONATION OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR.

bursting forth into foreign parts have been mentioned as an aspect of tribal history peculiar to the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries.

Their method was to take to sea and fused with other Norse nations which had preceded them; and in this way more particularly a great emigration carried a part of the race into the province of Neustria, in Gaul or France.

This portion of the coast lies over against England on the south side of the channel. It is bounded on the west by Bretagne, on the east by Picardy and the Isle of France, and on the south by the province of Mayne. It includes in its central part the mouth of the river Seine. On the whole, it is one of the most delightful maritime regions within

Conquest of Neustria by the Normans under Rolf.

No page in history better illustrates the rapid differentiation of peoples from each other than do the differences which were at length apparent between the Danes of the eighth and ninth centuries and the Normans of the tenth. The former were still regarded, on their coming into England, as the kinsfolk of the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes.

Striking ethnic differentiation of the Normans and the Danes.

MANNERS OF THE ANGLO-DANES.—Meeting of Edmund Ironside and Canute, in the Isle of Olney, 1016.

the borders of France, and most attractive to adventurers. This was the country to which Rolf the Ganger and his people were drawn at the beginning of the tenth century. The term Normans is a softened form of Northmen. The Danes themselves, whose conquest of England we have just noted, were known as Northmen, but not as Normans. Not until after the settlement of Rolf's sea kings in Neustria did the name Norman appear as a designation of the race.

The intercourse between the two races was natural and easy, and has continued to be so from the days when Ironside and Canute met in Olney to the day when Alexandra was brought as the bride of the prince to England. But the latter, though from identically the same region and from the same ethnic descent, had meanwhile planted themselves in the Gaulish country called Neustria, but which presently took the name of the conquerors, and became ever afterwards known as Normandy.

In other parts of this work we have spoken of the rapid assimilation of the conquerors to the conquered in this country, particularly of the adoption of the Gallo-Latin language, which was spoken in Neustria on the arrival of the Northmans. It was not only the language of the subject people, but many of the institutions and laws, the manners and customs, that the sea kings out of the north chose instead of their own. This rather anomalous acceptance of resident institutions in place of the imported might be difficult to trace. Certain it is that within a century a new language had been formed, to which the name of Norman French was given, and which the people were destined, after another century, to carry into England under the banner of the Conqueror.

WILLIAM THE NORMAN—TYPE.—After the painting by Van Orley.

The Normans become assimilated with the Gallo-Romans.

The circumstances which led to the Norman conquest of England were political in their nature. The coming of William the Conqueror with his army was not a mere adventure. It is doubt

Motives and principles of the Norman conquest.

ful whether the Norman noblemen who came with him as leaders of the expedition had any preference for the foggy island, so barbarous in its geography and people, over the sunny country which they left behind. Perhaps some of them hoped to gain large landed estates and to supplant the Saxon Thanes in their rights and privileges. But for the most part the movement was chivalrous. Edward the Confessor was childless, and Duke Harold had sworn over the bones of the saints to waive his claim to the English crown in favor of his cousin William. The thing was true. Harold had foresworn himself, and according to the sentiments and principles of the times Duke William might justly make war on him and compel the performance of his oath.

HAROLD SWEARING TO UPHOLD THE RIGHT OF THE DUKE OF NORMANDY TO THE THRONE OF ENGLAND—TYPES AND MANNERS.

But like many oaths, that of Harold was good only in the making. William the Bastard had therefore a good reason, or at least a good excuse, for invading the island, and so, gathering up his army of sixty thousand men, he bore down on the Saxon kingdom, entered it by violence, fought the battle of Hastings, was victorious, and in 1066 made himself king of England. This was, ethnically considered, the *third* stream of Teutonic blood which had flowed into our ancestral island and had deluged all the eastern and southern parts thereof; first the Saxon stream of the fifth cen-

Reasons of William; contributing streams of the English race.

tury, then the Danish stream of the ninth, then the Norman stream of the eleventh, all flowing from the Baltic coast, the ancient land of the Cimbri and the Suiones; all alike in constitution, but very different in their respective stages of development.

History is full of surprises. When we look at the character and ambitions of the Norman race, especially when we consider its superiority in every element of promise, it seems marvelous that it should not have played a more conspicuous part in the historical drama of modern times. No other people of the tenth

The Norman race disappoints historical expectation.

NORMAN TYPES—NOBLE LADIES AND CITIZENS.

century was equally enlightened. No other in Western Europe took up at so early an age the legend and tradition of the past as a basis of song and story. It will be remembered by the student of history that while one branch of the Norman race planted itself in Western Gaul, and then by successful conquest in

NORMAN TYPES—PRINCE, PRINCESS, AND CROSS BOWMAN.

England, another branch made its way into Sicily, and there became as predominant as were the followers of Rolf the Ganger in the west.

If we look at the Normans in Normandy Proper, we shall be surprised at the rapidity and brilliancy of their development. They formed a new language and a new literature. They took on courtly manners. They became chivalrous in an age two centuries before chivalry as an institution was developed.

Rapidity and excellence of the Norman evolution.

They were proud of their rank among the literary and artistic peoples who were beginning to rise over the rim of barbarism. Nor had these refining attributes of character been produced at the expense of warlike valor. The courage and skill of the Normans in battle were conspicuous in an age whose chief virtue was successful war. And yet these gallant, intellectual, and high-spirited Normans sank everywhere into the earth. Their conquest of England resulted in an absorption of the national character of the victorious race more disastrous to the development of its ethnic character than had been the previous absorption of the barbarous Northmen on their first arrival in Western Gaul. The same thing happened in Sicily and Southern Italy.

No people now represent the Norman race. Though many are touched with the superior blood derived from that source, none have it in sufficient flow to give a race character to themselves. If we are forced to seek the world over for modern representatives of the northern people so proud and strong in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, we should have more hope of success in the ancestral peninsula from which alike Saxons, Jutes, Frisians, Danes, and Normans were in turn derived than in any other part of the world.

Norman blood survives and quickens in other races.

In the age of the Crusades the Normans were the flower of the European armies. They had not only the enthusiasm of the Holy Wars, but also the skill to command. No other house bore a more conspicuous part than the Plantagenets. Richard the Lion Heart made his name a synonym for victorious battle among all the nations of the West, of terror among the Saracens, of heroism as far as rumor in the Middle Ages might carry the fame of men. But in another century after the Crusades ceased Normandy was a part of France, and the Anglo-Saxon line had recovered the throne of England. In the latter country the ancient speech had reässerted itself, and the twitterings of the morning birds in the groves about old Woodstock were more than equaled by the imperishable songs of Chaucer.

Culmination and falling away of the Normans.

CHAUCER AS A CANTERBURY PILGRIM.
From the Ellesmere manuscript.

We should not, however, conclude that the perishing of the names of things always signifies the perishing of the things. Though the Norman name disappeared from the political and civil speech of mankind, and though it was retained in literature only as a reminiscence, the blood and thought of the Norman race had combined with the coarser Teutonic currents of life in a great part of Western Europe, modifying by its refined emotions and poetical and sentimental

The Teutonic races gilded with the glow of Normanism.

quality the heavier spirit of several of the stronger peoples. Such a combination in England was the last of many changes which gave the finished type to the English character and the English tongue. The infusion of Norman blood with the Teutonic life current of the English race produced a kind of effervescence in the heart and spirit of that strong, sluggish people. The union of the two produced a warmth and enthusiasm in which the English character had hitherto been wanting, and without which the phlegmatic constitution of the Anglo-Saxon people must have appeared more cold and apathetic to the senses and sympathies of modern nations than they are.

NORMAN MILITARY COSTUMES AND TYPES OF THE TWELFTH CENTURY.

From another point of view we may discover a particular interest in the inquiry before us. This relates to the language and the literary form which the Normans gave to our ancestors in England. It seems marvelous that the Normans, who were not themselves a Latin race, whose instincts and character indeed were very diverse from that strong Roman stock which held dominion in Europe for so many centuries, should have been the medium through which so strong a Latin impulse was conveyed into English speech. If all the other sources of Latin derivation were put together and summed up into one, the result would not by any means equal the single contribution of Latin elements which has been made to English by the Norman French. For two centuries it was the court language of England. For two centuries it held the laws and constitutions of the kingdom. For two centuries it was the speech in which the instruction of the schoolroom was imparted. For two centuries it held down the Anglo-Saxon folk speech, pressed it into the earth, made it low and dirty by contamination with the fields and cattle; and yet all the time it was itself giving way to that linguistic destiny which has always, sooner or later, controlled the languages of mankind.

Great contribution of Norman French to English speech.

In the reign of Henry III the ancient English folk tongue began to bubble up from the depths. Again the sound of the old vernacular was heard. Again the breaking of the bubbles of that old speech on the surface of the sea gave token that the Norman French had reached the last limit of its excursion and must die. Nevertheless, like the Danite Samson, it conquered more in

Revival and reconquest by the Anglo-Saxons.

its death than in its life. Though the pillars of the Norman temple were shaken from their foundations, the infection which had been shed forth in six generations of intercourse had entered into the new national life, and the new tongue of the English people vibrated almost as much with the orotund and musical tremblings of the Norman accents as with the heavy rumble and roar and broad-throated chuckle of the triumphant Anglo-Saxon.

Many strange things come to light under the close scrutiny of ethnical and historical processes. We may find one in the *building* of this promising and ambitious Norman race. We have seen how one division of the Normans was planted in England and the other in Sicily. The situation of each with respect to the subject peoples was not dissimilar. Nor can it be thought that the two bands of conquerors, one of which went into Sicily, the other into Britain, were very different in their manners, customs, and instincts. But the two antecedent peoples were as unlike as the day and the night. In Sicily the two politest races of the age, that is, the Greeks and the Romans, had expended their energies in developing an architecture on which it might be said it was impossible to improve. But if we admit the possibility of adding perfume to the rose and of gilding refined gold, then the Saracens during their ascendency in Sicily improved upon the Græco-Italic architecture, giving it the efflorescence of Arabia. So when the Normans gained by conquest the dominion of the island, they had little to do but to promote the elegant styles of building which already prevailed in the south of Europe. It is for this reason that we find the churches of Palermo and Messina, though reared by the Normans, to be strictly Saracenic as to their architectural peculiarities. It has been said that in these countries the ruling people had nothing to add to what had already reached perfection.

CLIFFORD'S TOWER.
Built by William the Conqueror.

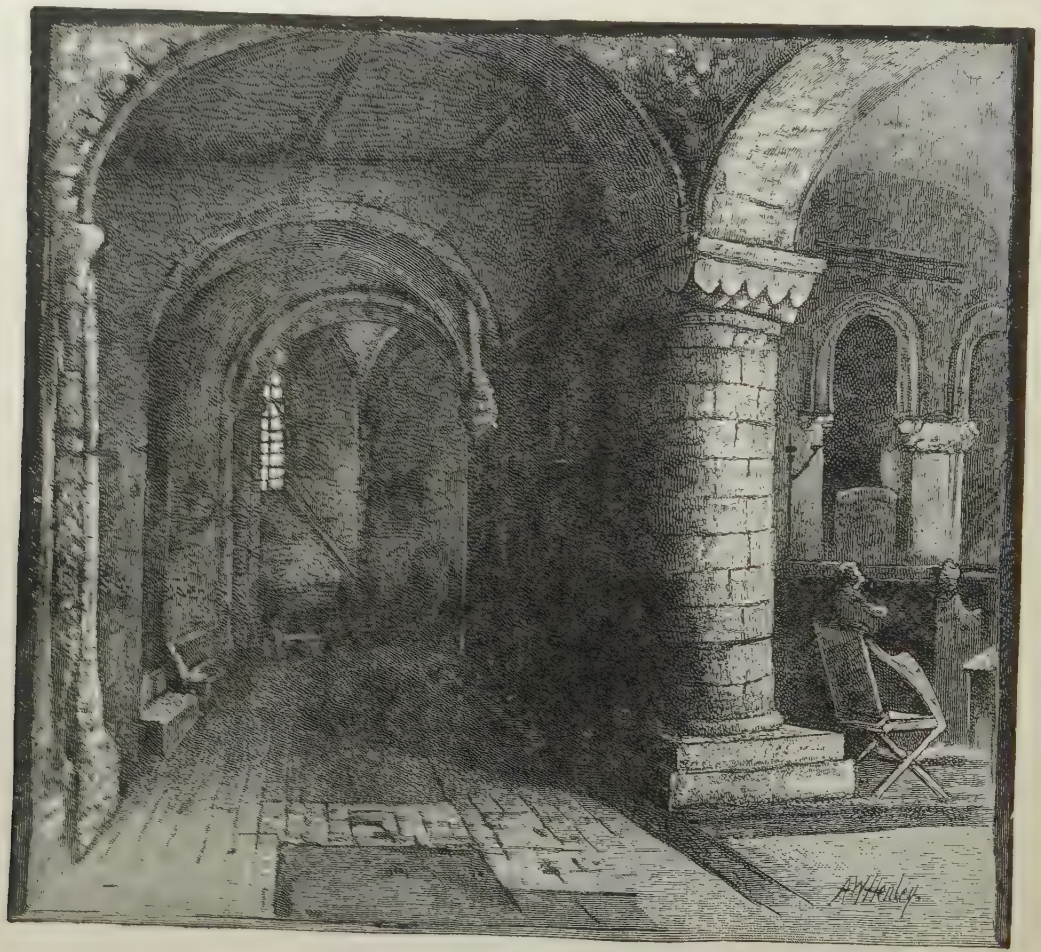
Peculiar combination of Norman elements with modern architecture.

But in England, rude Anglo-Saxon England of the eleventh century, the Normans, with their Romanesque style of building, had everything to reform and little on which to build. In our ancestral islands no Greek, no Roman, no Saracen had been to impart the canons of architecture. It might be said that the Roman style of building

The Normans build according to conditions in different countries.

had to a certain extent come in during the domination of that race, from the first to the fifth century; but the stream of barbarism came afterwards. Teutonism stamped the residue under foot. It thus happened that with the incoming of the Normans there was even a demand for an improved style of structure, and this the conquering people out of Normandy supplied. It thus happened that the architecture of the Norman race, working out great results in Sicily and Southern Italy, in Normandy itself, and in England, displayed vast divergencies and contrasts of development, a parallel for which it might be difficult to discover in any other stage of the human evolution.

Thus it was that the Norman building in Sicily in the epoch of the Crusades continued as it had been before, a blending of Romanesque and Saracenic orders. Thus it was that in Apulia the Normans built even as the Romans had built before them. Thus it was that in England the local styles were simply modified and expanded from the time of the Conqueror to the struggle of the Houses of York and Lancaster. Thus it was that in the same period in Normandy itself the architecture became French. Indeed, we might say that in all parts into which the Normans distributed themselves, where they gained a political ascendency by the sword and maintained it by their



NORMAN ARCHES—From *Magazine of Art.*

genius, their architectural monuments more and more conformed to the native styles in the respective countries.

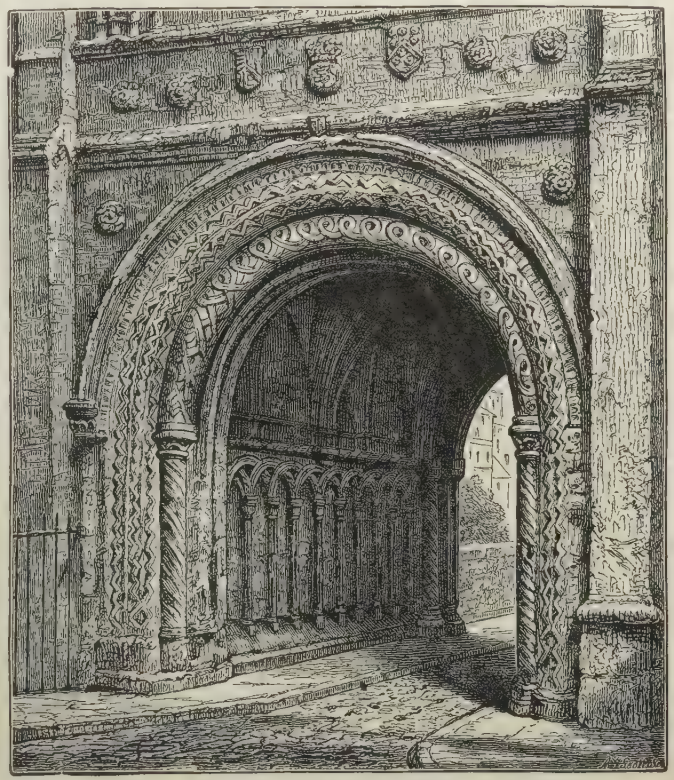
From this fact we may infer a certain assimilative disposition in the Norman race; and the problem of its absorption by the various peoples among whom the currents of Norman vitality were distributed becomes more simple and easy of solution. That type of character which sprang up out of the Gallo-Romanic people of Neustria, crossed with the conquering men of the north in the ninth and tenth centuries, had in it a certain effeminacy which led to a brilliant and easy superiority of short duration in several states of Western Europe and the Mediterranean; but such a quality was too conformable to existing types to maintain its own independence, either in letters, in manners, or in arts.

Element of effeminacy in the Norman cross.

Hence it may be said that the strength of the race and its distinction in the earlier Middle Ages became its weakness. Its easiness of adaptation to different localities and different forms of national life was the very fact that soon extinguished the quality of nationality in the Normans themselves. Their refining influence was left behind. Even in England, the most barbarous of the countries over which the Norman authority was extended, all the extant fashions and tendencies were lifted to a higher plane, and every condition of civilization was promoted by the influence of a race which seemed able to uplift everything but itself.

In the language and literature of England the very same tendencies were exhibited as we have seen in the architectural growth in the south of Europe. Many scholars have been disposed to lament the fact that the Anglo-Saxon language, having overpowered the British dialects, having taken from the Roman tongue, long spoken in the better parts of the island, but a small percentage of words and forms, having absorbed from the Danish speech no elements essentially different from its own native peculiarities, should not have been left alone to develop into a literary form without the introduction of that large contribution of Norman French which carried over into Anglo-Saxon a swarm of Latinized Gallicisms, embodying an equal number of French ideas as they existed in the earlier periods of romance and

Norman French adds elegance and beauty to our mother tongue.



NORMAN GATEWAY.

song. But is it not rather true that the Anglo-Saxon language, expanding merely by its own internal forces and

ANGLO-NORMAN TYPES—BISHOP AND LORDS.

genius, would have kept the English-speaking race perpetually poor in all that linguistic refinement, that chivalry, that poetic sentiment, which, along with the more vehement parts of speech, have constituted one element of our wealth in literary production? Who, after all, would see expurgated from the English tongue those beautiful and harmonious elements which for a long time constituted the only blossoms, leafage, and fruit of the tongue which began to tremble on the harp of Chaucer, and has only recently ceased to resound on the harp of Tennyson?

Career of the Norman race in Sicily.

A single glance at the destinies of the Norman people in Sicily may suffice. In the time of the Mohammedan ascendency the great island of the Mediterranean offered special inducements to the Saracen sea robbers, and they availed themselves to the full of their opportunities. The whole Sicilian territory was won by Islam, and the Crescent was set up in all the cities. Tribute was the order of the day. In 1060, only six years before the beginning of the Norman conquest in England, an army of Normans, under command of Count Roger d'Hauteville, brother of Robert Guiscard, arrived in Sicily and began the work of expelling the Saracens. It was also the policy of these men of the West to overthrow the authority of the Byzantine empire, not only in Sicily but in Southern Italy. There had always remained, during the Mohammedan as-

ARTISANS AND ARTIFICERS—TYPES.

cendency, a large body of Christians both on the mainland and in the island. These, of course, welcomed the Normans

—for the latter were Christians—as deliverers.

The city of Messina was captured by the Christians in 1060, and was made the Norman capital. Some, however, took the opposite course, and it was a strange spectacle to see the Christians of Traina combining with the Infidels in the war with Count Roger. Palermo was taken by the Normans in 1071. Seven years later Taormina was captured. Syracuse held out until 1085, while Noto was not captured until 1090. It was now the turn of the Saracens to feel the distresses of subjugation. Yet the Mohammedan religion and its practices were tolerated. Conversions from Christianity to Islam were not permitted under the Norman rule, and on the other hand, the Norman priests did not greatly encourage conversion from Mohammed-

NORMAN TROUBADOUR AND BARBE.

Policy of the dominant race respecting its subjects.

PENSIONERS OF CHELSEA—ENGLISH TYPES.—After the painting by Weatherhead, Royal Institute, 1886.

anism to Christianity, for that would have lessened the tribute which the Christians exacted of the subject people.

Summary of ethnic movements of the Germanic peoples.

We have thus, beginning with the origin of the German nation beyond the Rhine, observed its character while in a state of barbarism and the goings forth of emigrant peoples from the borders of Germania. Of these, we have traced the Ostrogoths and Visigoths to their destinations in Italy and Spain. We have also followed the Vandals to their select territory in Andalusia and Africa. We have, in the next place, marked the progress of the Franks, crossing the Rhine and taking possession of Gaul. About the same time went forth the Angles, the Saxons, and the Jutes, with a percentage of the Frisian tribe-life, into Britain, where they were successful in overwhelming the British population, half-Latinized by the long dominion of Rome, and in pressing them back to the western mountainous regions in Cornwall and Wales.

Teutonic nations a pestle in the hands of history.

Following this came, in an intermediate period, the Danes, from the same ancestral region, impelled by similar motives, and driven, partly by force of pressure and partly by the robber instinct, to the mouth of the Humber, whence they spread into North England, and presently extended their authority over the whole, until the time of the successful revolt of the Anglo-Saxons. Two centuries later we have seen the Normans on their adventure, seamen by profession, until by a settled residence in Neustria they were converted into the first polite people of modern times. From this secondary residence they divided, one branch of the race going into England, on an expedition of conquest which had its origin in a broken family pledge on the part of the representative of the Anglo-Saxon dynasty; and the other division making its way into Sicily and Southern Italy.

These, then, are the departures of the Teutonic nations in the centuries which followed the decline and extinction of the Roman empire in the West. Indeed, the emigrations of which we have spoken have been regarded as the *cause* of the downfall of Rome. But it would be the truer view to regard the Teutonic nations as merely the pestles with which an immortal destiny beat to nothing in the mortar the residue of the Roman race, corrupted as it was with centuries of vice, weakened by division and by the loss of its old-time skill in the work of human government.

General absorption of the Teutonic conquerors.

To continue the generalization of these results, we see the common fact of the absorption of the conquering power in most of the countries into which it penetrated. The Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy survived no more than sixty years. The Visigoths in Spain, by the superiority of their constitution and learning, maintained themselves in the south for a longer period, but went down in the beginning of the eighth century before the besom of the Islamites. The Vandal states in Southern Spain and in Africa had already passed away. Normandy, as we have seen, which appeared to possess more elements of perpetuity than any of the others, was evanescent as a political power. The brilliant but brief Norman ascendency ebbed away in France as well as in England and in Sicily, and the race disappeared as a separate nationality, though not as an ethnic force.

Only in France and in the Anglo-Saxon states of the British Isles did the invasion of the Teutonic races succeed in the

historic sense. The Merovingian kings sustained themselves until another German house, greater than they by victorious battle and superior statesmanship, put down the House of Clovis and established that of Charlemagne. But the kingdom itself survived and grew until at the opening scene of modern history it presented itself as the greatest of the powers of Western Europe. England, in like manner, flourished. True, it retained the insular character until the reign of William III, but since that period it has become European. The island holds the roots of the greatest race of the modern world, whose outbranchings have spread eastward to the foothills of Burmah and westward to the Golden Gate and the tundras of the Yukon.

The Franks and Anglo-Saxons develop into historical races.

Thus the general character of the political powers which were planted by the emigrant Germans of the Dark Ages was that of a temporary success, followed by an early failure and absorption, to which general rule there are the two remarkable exceptions of France and England. We must now consider the remaining states which were peopled by the original Teutonic stock in times wholly prehistoric, and whose present nationality is the result of native growth rather than of emigration and conquest.

CHAPTER XC.—THE DANES.

WE shall now take note of the development of Denmark, or rather of the Danish race, in its native seats. These were, without doubt, a Teutonic people, having the same physical and mental characteristics and the same language, in a dialectical branch, with the South Germans and with the old Saxons. To this day the ancient characteristics of the race are well preserved. In recent times, in common with the other Teutonic families, the Danes have taken up emigration as a means of improving their condition, and the United States of America is annually receiving a large addition of population from this source.

Another general comment must be made on the geographical and ethnical position of the Danish people. They are on the border line between the old Ingavonian, or Low German, branch of the race and the Scandinavians proper. They have thus partaken of the characteristics of both branches of the Germanic family—we might say of all three branches—and in addition to this it can not be doubted that to a certain extent the Wendish stock has penetrated this region and diffused itself among all the peoples along the Baltic.

Geographical and ethnical position of the Danish race.

As to this latter family, the Wends, it is classified ethnically as a branch of the Slavic division; but its advent into Western Germany was about the seventh century. In the age of Charlemagne, that monarch met them in his German wars, and drove them back toward the Vistula. By the close of the thirteenth century the Wends were nearly exterminated as a race in the West, but they had left behind a large diffusion of their blood. Their ancient seats were in the eastern portion of Ger-

Classification of the Wends as a branch of the Teuto-Slavs.

VIEW OF COPENHAGEN – Drawn by Guiard.

many between the Saale and the Elbe, as far north as the Eider. There is a remnant of the Wends still in Hanover, where their language was spoken as late as the middle of the last century. To the present day, in Brandenburg, Silesia, and Saxony, settlements of the Wends are found. Their language is Slavonic, and the personal characteristics of the people are suggestive of the Polish and Slavic divisions of our race rather than of the Germans.[1]

OLD DANISH TYPES—BEOWULF AND METHORN.

Except in so far as these slight foreign elements have entered into the Danish people, the latter are purely Teutonic in their derivation. To the present time they have the ancient German character. The description given by Tacitus of the Germanic nations on the right bank of the Rhine during the first century might almost be transcribed without change in delineating the personal characteristics of the Danes. They have the yellow hair and gleaming blue eyes peculiar to their ethnic ancestry. Their stature, however, is much lower than that of the ancient Germans. This suggests a few words on the general question of the stature of men as determined by physical conditions.

The Danes essentially Teutonic; physical features.

In general, the mountaineers and forest men are great in height. If we consider the Germanic family in its entirety, the grading off of the stature of the people from the woodland and mountainous countries toward the sea would be plainly discoverable. This was the chief physical difference between the Istavonian and Hermionian Germans on the one side and the Ingavonians, or Low Germans, on the other. None of the Baltic peoples were tall in stature. Even the Normans were only of middle height. The Hollanders and the Dutch in general did not lose their thickness and weight by proximity to the sea, but did lose a large fraction of their height.

Correlations of stature with geographical elevation.

This effect of the proximity of the sea in reducing the stature of barbarians and half-civilized nations was never more strikingly illustrated than in the Anglo-Saxons. They were stalwart in the last degree, but were withal a people of rather low stature. They were broad, thick, gigantic in all their proportions except in height. One may still see as he journeys through Sussex and Kent and Middlesex and Essex the

Stalwartness of the Anglo-Saxons; feature of their descendants.

[1] See Book Thirteenth, pp. 185–191.

peculiarly low and heavy character of the English people. It is in this respect that the descendants of these folks, spreading far and wide in the New World, and climbing to higher and higher altitudes as they approach the West, are so much taller than their ancestors. It must be the sea fogs and low level of our ancestral lands on the one side and the clear air and high level on the other that have determined the striking difference between ancestry and descendants. Might it not be that the law is physical, that the higher barometer in such countries as the Rocky mountain region of the United States or the Alpine slopes in Europe would produce a more excited flow of blood and a taller growth of the man tree than in the low, foggy island-coasts where the man is on a level with the ocean?

Stature and physiognomy of the Dutch and the Danes.

At any rate, such are the phenomena. The German race along the Baltic and the North sea became low in stature as it approached the coast. In the interior the height was great and greater. The ancient authors place the average of the Germans, by estimate, from six feet to seven feet, according to nationality. We have, however, already had occasion to point out the fact that the Irish Celts seem to indicate an opposite law, for many of them are not only stalwart as to thickness and depth of body, but also as to stature.

DANISH REAPERS—THE "FRENCH OF THE BALTIC"—TYPES.—Drawn by Frolich.

The features of the Danes are in close conformity to those of the other North German races. Their ethnic peculiarities seem to be rather in analogy with those of the Ingavonian nations than with the Scandinavians. There is a certain air and manner of independence among the Danish peasants, which ethnologists have attributed to the vast number of small landownerships whereby all are made masters and none converted into peasant serfs. In no country has the fundamental democracy of the German race expressed itself with more emphasis than in Denmark. The people take a great interest in politics and in education, and their gayety is a matter of surprise when we compare it with the heaviness of the Germans or the saturnine temper of the Norwegians. In fact, the people of the Danish peninsula may properly be called the French of the Baltic coast.

Denmark is the *mark*, or *march*, of the *Danir*, or Danes, but the meaning of the latter word as an ethnic term has not been decided. We have already had occasion to point out the sense of the word mark, or march. It meant a border. The mark of a given people was the territorial boundary line of that folk Such use of the term has been one of the principal sources of the derivation of tribal names in the north of Europe. Danmörk, or Denmark, is one of the most conspicuous cases of this kind of naming. The traveler Pytheas, living in the fourth century before Christ, was the first to bring the peninsula of Jutland to the attention of the peoples of the south. He called the country Thule. It is thought that at the time referred to the Celts in their westward course were the principal people of the peninsula. Rask has advanced the opinion that the Sarmatic, or Teutonic, invasion took place at a later period. It is believed that the vanguard of the new invaders, probably a branch of the Goths, passed through Russia into Germany, thence into Denmark, and finally into Sweden. Should this hypothesis be accepted, we may consider the Goths of a later period

The mark of the Danir; first knowledge of the country.

VIEW OF KIEL, IN SCHLESWIG-HOLSTEIN.—Drawn by Guiard.

KING ALFRED IN THE DANISH CAMP.

as a result of a reflex migration of a branch of the Ingavonian Germans into the country of the Danube—a theory which has been suggested in a former part of this work.

It may be accepted as true that the Lapps and the Finns were jostled somewhat by the incoming of the Germanic races; but it is possible that the former are themselves immigrants of a later date. If we reckon the Danes as originally a Gothic tribe, we may assign to them a language that has been called the *Dönsk tunga*, or Danish tongue, which was indeed the primitive language of this region until the thirteenth or fourteenth century, when it gave way to the Norse. Politically, the primitive people of Jutland were organized in the same manner as the nations of Germany. Each tribe had a petty chieftain, and war was the order of the times. The smallness and broken-up condition of affairs was recognized by the early Danes themselves; for they called their chieftains *Smaa-kongar*, or Little Kings. It was only when a number of the tribes banded together that the race could be considered formidable from a military point of view.

Language and organization of the Jutes.

From times immemorial there seem to have been some geographical discriminations observed in the country known by the general name of Denmark. In our own day we have seen the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein wrested away from Denmark and reünited to Germany. The movement was purely ethnical, though the foolish race of writers have ascribed it to secondary causes, and after the manner of the one universal fallacy have attributed it to the agency

Ethnical and geographical lines in the peninsula.

ANCIENT VIKING SHIP.

of men. Prince Bismarck has been proclaimed as the author of that great scheme by which an old ethnic distinction forced the people of the lower part of the peninsula into union with Germany, reserving the northern portion for the Dane folk.

As far back as the time of the Norman emigrations Upper Denmark was known as Red Gotland. The name thus applied was coëxtensive with all the mainland north of the Elbe; that is, Schleswig, Holstein, and Jutland. This shows that for at least ten centuries the lines of division in the peninsula have been ethnic rather than political or geographical. The country has, from the Dark Ages, been rich in traditional lore. Saxo Grammaticus, an old Danish historian who flourished at the close of the twelfth century, gathered together in one immense heap the legends and myths of the Danish race. According to his exposition of the subject, there was far back in antiquity a king, *Dan* the Famous, who united under his rule the *smaa-kongar*, and established a dynasty, from which fact and epoch the people took the name of *Danes*. The mythical ages continued to the eighth century, when the supremacy of the Scandinavian peoples was acknowledged, after a battle between Ring of Sweden and Hildebrand of Denmark.

Mythical age of the country and people.

In the reign of Louis le Débonnaire, monks not a few were sent out from France to introduce the Christian religion in Denmark. It was a long time, however, before the missionaries gained any substantial advantages. Denmark had not yet been united in its various parts. It was in the reign of Gorm the Old, extending from 860 to 936, that Denmark became one by the union of all the provinces. This included Schleswig, Holstein, Skaania, and certain districts in Norway. On the east and south of the Baltic he bore his standards as far as Kiev in Russia, to Aix-la-Chapelle in Germany, and Sens in France. There was a period when it appeared that Denmark might become the great ruling power of the north. The authentic history of the country begins with the tenth century. Up to this time the Danes had had the character of sea kings. They had fallen upon England and taken it by war and sea craft. They had also wrested Neustria from the Carlovingians, and shaken their banners and let their arrows fly under the very walls of Paris

Christianity introduced; conquests of Gorm.

We may easily perceive in this outgoing of the Danish and Norman peoples from the Baltic peninsula in which they had their original residence the great lesson of the discipline of environment. Of a certainty, the exploits of the Northmen in the open ocean are sufficiently surprising. In the age of their adventure and conquest it was no uncommon thing for them to take to sea in their open boats, a sort of ocean canoe, and to brave the dangers and horrors of the stormiest deep for a distance of three hundred or four hundred miles abroad. Thus did they in bearing down upon England, in the ninth century, and thus did they, at a date somewhat later, on the coast of Normandy. To accomplish such results men do not become able in a day or in a generation. It requires discipline and experience. The islands of the Baltic were so situated with respect to each other, and with respect to Jutland, as to furnish the suggestion and the means of navigating the boisterous sea in open boats. It was in this water, black with rage in winter storms, and sinking only

Influence of environment in determining Danish character.

to a yellowish ill-temper even in the calm of summer, that the Danes and Northmen became the most skillful and brave of all the primitive navigators. To them a storm at sea was only an exhilarating experience, and the mountain waves of brine, twisting and roaring in the yellow blast, mere sports of amiable water.

Heroes and great men among the old Danes.

It can not be doubted that at a time when the larger part of Europe was given up to darkness and despair Denmark produced several men whose genius would have given them rank in any age or country. The success of the Dane folk in establishing themselves in Western Gaul and in England was attributable, as far as such things can be attributable, to the personal prowess and genius of the leaders of the great Norman expeditions. Such talents as Rolf the Ganger displayed while the weak-kneed successors of Charlemagne cowered before him in Paris; such power to govern and to conquer as Old Sweyn and Canute exhibited in their English campaigns; such skill in statecraft as they manifested in the successful union of Denmark and England in a common government, a thing withal neither unnatural nor impracticable under the circumstances; such high talents as Harold and Hardicanute exhibited as warrior kings in an age just beginning to stagger out of the border shadows of barbarism, must have stamped the Danish leaders of the tenth and eleventh centuries as among the most conspicuous Europeans of all the Middle Ages. It must be borne in mind that the death of Hardicanute without a male heir, as much as any reverse of fortune in arms or statesmanship, enabled Edward the Confessor to reässert the Anglo-Saxon claim to the throne of England.

Extraordinary adventure of the Danish race.

Nor should we fail in this connection to note, in passing, the extraordinary enterprise shown by the Norsemen, in the epoch under consideration, in their going forth from Iceland on voyages of discovery first to Greenland and afterwards to the northeastern shores of America. Leif Ericsson was a Norseman of the Norse in his origin. Iceland has always belonged ethnically to this stock. The people who filled up Iceland with their descendants came immediately from Norway, while the ultimate derivation of the race was from the south side of the Baltic. Old Sweyn had taken the crown of England, and was wearing it. Richard the Good, Duke of Normandy, had the crown of that province when Leif, son of Eric the Red, came in the year 1001 to the coasts of Massachusetts and Rhode Island.

Beginnings of municipal freedom in the north of Europe.

The general destiny of the Danish kingdom—after the country had assumed that political form which might entitle it to the regal name—was similar to that of the other states of Europe, particularly Germany. One feature in a striking degree conformed to the corresponding fact in the vicissitudes of German development. We speak of the towns and small cities which obtained by resistance and revolt charters of freedom from the sovereign, and became in subsequent times what in Germany would be called free cities. This signified, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that the town which had obtained its charter from the sovereign was independent of the baron or count within whose territories the town was situated. It was a circumstance which raised the city so favored to the rank of an independent power correlative with the baronial estate.

After such a municipal charter had been granted, the city receiving it was entitled to be represented in what was called the states, or subsequently the states-general. Nor might it lose these privileges except by reconquest by the baron or lord. This did not often occur, but it did many times happen that the town or city in attempting to secure its emancipation lost all in the conflict. In such cases the enraged suzerain was

Contests between feudalism and the Free Cities.

wont to demolish the walls, raze the principal buildings, transfer the market to some city which had kept its loyalty, and thus reduce the place which might have before been prosperous to the condition of a desolate hamlet no longer worthy of notice. Sometimes the baron was restrained from such work by the selfish consideration that the conquered town was his own property, and that to destroy it through spite was a peevish gratification beneath his dignity and against his interests.

In another respect Denmark had a common destiny with the other states of Europe. This related to the consolidation of the petty sovereignties into which the national authority was divided, and their union in a common government. If the student will glance abroad over the field of European history, he will find that the fifteenth century marks the epoch of consolidation. It was at this time that the expiring energies of feudalism in France, headed by Charles of Burgundy, fought its last great fight with the kingdom under Louis XI Louis won the battle. The feudal states gave way before the massive kingdom that was now established. The same thing happened beyond the Pyrenees. Ferdinand the Catholic and Isabella of Castile by their union succeeded in bringing into one all the important kingdoms of the peninsula. At nearly the same time a similar process was going on in England. The House of Tudor represented all the claims of York and Lancaster in the government. Un-

Process of consolidation of the European states.

REPAST OF DANISH PEASANTS—TYPES AND MANNERS.—Drawn by Frolich.

der Henry VII and Henry VIII the monarchy grew and flourished to an extent hitherto unknown. The very same thing took place in Germany, under Maximilian. In all the civilized parts of Europe the age was one of consolidation.

But we shall be surprised to note that Denmark was the *first* of the European states to pass through this evolution. The event occurred at the close of the fourteenth century, full fifty years before the like movement was seen in any of the other kingdoms. Valdemar III, King of Denmark, died in 1378. He left two daughters, of whom the second, Margaret, was married to Hakon VI, King of Norway. On the death of her husband she retained the government of her native land. Her son had in the meantime been declared King of Denmark. But he also died, and the Danish Parliament permitted Margaret to retain the sovereignty under constitutional restrictions. The Swedes, however, were not agreed as to the succession after Hakon's death. Some were in favor of offering the crown to Margaret, while others supported the Duke of Mecklenburg.

Denmark the first to attain political unity.

Hereupon there was an outbreak of war. The queen triumphed over her rival. He was taken prisoner, and the estates of all three kingdoms were called together at Kalmar, in Sweden. There was passed, in the year 1397, the parliamentary act known ever afterwards as the Union of Kalmar. The three kingdoms were declared to be under one sovereign, and the constitutional provision was made that each of the three powers should retain its own fundamental law and jurisprudence.

Union of Kalmar; place of Margaret in history.

By this means a consolidation was effected of the northern governments about three quarters of a century before a similar movement was undertaken in France and Spain and England. Much of this has been attributed to Margaret herself. She became known as the Semiramis of the North, and there is no doubt that her capacity for government was great; but the student of history will understand that such movements in political society occur in obedience to general laws, which sovereigns are impotent to annul and almost equally impotent to promote.